

THE  
/ OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI /  
VOLUME LXII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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## PREFACE

The first section of this volume continues our publication of Comic adespota. **4301** is a scrap of Old Comedy, very likely Eupolis. **4302-5** represent later Comedy; of these, **4302** adds a new fragment to the Aischron play, **4303** gives the end of a first act in Menandrian style, **4304** introduces a miser and a gourmet (possible Middle Comedy), **4305** could be ascribed to Menander's *Synaristosai*. We are grateful to Dr Austin, Mr Brown and especially Professor Handley for their contributions. These pieces were made available in proof for use in Kassel & Austin, *PCG VIII* (1995) (items 1151-5); the texts presented here differ only in a very few amendments.

Part II (**4306-9**) continues the publication of mythographic texts, with editions by Professor M. A. Harder; **4306-8** contain lists related to the so-called *Indices* in Hyginus, and so contribute to the history of that tradition. Part III (**4310-33**) includes all the remaining papyri of Demosthenes I-IX so far identified in the Oxyrhynchus collection. These show, as we have come to expect, sporadic divergences from, and varying allegiances among, the medieval MSS; **4321** has a different interest, as a prose text marked up for reading with quite unusual elaboration. Dr Whitehorne has undertaken the bulk, with contributions by Dr Hübner and Professor Reeve; Dr W. E. H. Cockle cleaned **4321**, and allowed us to use the revised transcript which resulted. These editions have been coordinated and partly reworked by Parsons, who takes responsibility for any errors.

The documents (**4334-4351**) are with one exception edited by the late Professor J. C. Shelton, whose sadly early death came as a great personal shock to us and to all who are concerned with editorial work on the Egypt Exploration Society's Graeco-Roman Memoirs. We have valued his friendship and welcomed his collaboration for many years. He was the sole author of the fourth and last volume of *The Tebtunis Papyri* and contributed meticulous editions of very difficult documents to six of the previous volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. We may mention as of special interest the publication of the fourth century archive of Papnuthis and Dorotheus in Volume XLVIII **3384-3429**, with **3430**. His contributions to this volume are very diverse: **4335** reveals an Alexandrian who owned and leased at least fifty aruras of land in the Oxyrhynchite nome; **4336** refers to the Oxyrhynchite estate of the well known Alexandrian family of the Iulii Theones; several entries in a fourth-century tax schedule give the rates at which money taxes were charged in proportion to the extent of the tax-payer's holding in land (**4348**); two of his three sixth-century documents concern the collection of taxes through the agency of the household of the Apion family (**4350-1**). **4347** was prepared by Drs Coles and Rea, and has a new official somehow connected with Libya. Indexes I-XV were compiled by Rea.

We are grateful to Dr Nikolaos Gonis for compiling Index XVI and especially for his careful reading of the page proofs, which at the last moment eliminated some deplorable errors and added valuable items to the bibliography.

As usual we are deeply indebted to the staff of the Charlesworth Group for solving with great skill and good temper the many problems in the printing of our intractable material.

December, 1995

P. J. PARSONS  
J. R. REA  
General Editors

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CFLA = C.F.L. Austin      EWH = E.W. Handley      JRR = J.R. Rea  
 PGMcCB = P.G. McC. Brown      MAH = M.A. Harder      MDR = M.D. Reeve  
 WEHC = W.E.H. Cockle      RH = R. Hübner      JCS = J.C. Shelton  
 RAC = R.A. Coles      PJP = P.J. Parsons      JEGW = J.E.G. Whitehorne

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#### NUMBERS AND PLATES

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

$\alpha\beta\gamma$	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[ $\alpha\beta\gamma$ ]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[...]	Approximately three letters are lost
( )	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. ( $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta$ ) represents the symbol $\text{---}$ , $\epsilon\tau\rho(\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma)$ represents the abbreviation $\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma$
[[ $\alpha\beta\gamma$ ]]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
$\overset{\cdot}{\alpha\beta\gamma}$	The letters are added above the line
$\langle\alpha\beta\gamma\rangle$	The letters are added by the editor
{ $\alpha\beta\gamma$ }	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Heavy arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 4th edition (*BASP* Suppl. No. 7, 1992). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

## I. COMEDY

### 4301. OLD COMEDY

49 5B.99/D(37–38)a

8 × 6 cm

First/second century

Two scraps written in an elegant decorated hand of the ‘Roman Uncial’ type, to be compared with PSI XI 1213 and assigned to the late first or earlier second century AD. On fr. 1 the left-hand margin survives to 2 cm. Punctuation by paragraphos (paler ink, probably a second hand). The back is blank.

Fr. 1.5 mentions a Kleonymos. Various Kleonymoi are known from literary sources (and LGPN II 268 records a sprinkle of Athenian private citizens); but since the remains suggest iambs, and dialogue, we should probably look to Old Comedy and to the podgy run-away lampooned by Aristophanes and Eupolis (see MacDowell on *Wasps* 19). The context provides possibly political elements: fr. 1.4  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota\pi\omicron\nu$ , 6  $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\iota\kappa\iota\nu$ , 8 perhaps a form of  $\pi\rho\omicron\delta\iota\delta\omicron\nu\alpha\iota$ . Too little survives to determine whether we have trimeters (dialogue), or catalectic tetrameters (agon).

A more precise possibility should be mentioned. The hand of these fragments is not just similar, but very similar, to that of PSI 1213, although that is more heavily inked; and the size of the letters and the spacing of the lines seem to make a good match.<sup>1</sup> It will be worth considering whether 4301 comes from the same roll, or the same scribe, as PSI 1213. Note that PSI 1213 was found at Oxyrhynchus by Breccia; there are other cases in which Grenfell and Hunt, and Breccia, in successive excavations, recovered fragments of the same manuscript (e.g. III 454 and PSI II 119; XXXII 2639 and PSI XI 1191) or of different manuscripts in the same hand (J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* (1990) 193–5).

PSI 1213 too contains Old Comedy: lines from Eupolis, *Prospaltioi* (fr. 260 KA). This play dates from 429 (I. C. Storey, *Phoenix* 44 (1990) 14 f.). If 4301 belongs to it, this would be the earliest mention of Kleonymos: his career as a butt runs from *Acharnians* (425) to *Birds* (414), his political career from 426/5 to 415, see I. C. Storey, *RhM* 132 (1989) 247–61. Eupolis certainly referred to Kleonymos as a run-away (fr. 352), but we do not know in which play. Scholars have argued that since the shield joke appears in *Knights*, but not in *Acharnians*, it must refer to an incident of 425 (Storey 250 f.), in which case fr. 352 cannot belong to *Prospaltioi*. But the argument is clearly insecure.

<sup>1</sup> Of the published photographs of PSI 1213, that in Norsa, *Scrittura letteraria greca* pl. 9(a) seems to reproduce the actual size. I am grateful to Mr N. Gonis for measuring the original. He reports that the paragraphoi of PSI 1213, like those of 4301, are in a slightly greyer ink.

Fr. 1

. . . . .  
 . . . . . ω [ ] . . . [ ]  
 β [ ] υ λ η σ ε τ [ ]  
 η μ η ν σ υ θ [ ]  
 ε τ α ι ρ ο ν η τ η . [ ]  
 5 κ λ ε ω ν ν υ μ ο σ δ [ ]  
 γ ρ α φ α ι σ ι ν ο δ ε . . . [ ]  
 . . . ο υ χ ι δ η . . ρ . . . [ ]  
 . . . . . α ν π ρ ο δ . . . . . [ ]  
 . . . . . ρ ε κ α ι τ α [ ]  
 10 ω . χ . . ν [ ]  
 ε . . . [ ]  
 . . . . .

Κλεώνυμος δ[

Fr. 2

. . . . .  
 ] . μ [ ]  
 ] . σ μ . . [ ]  
 ] . α ρ η [ ]  
 ] . π α [ ]  
 5 ] . τ ε . [ ]  
 ] . . [ ]  
 . . . . .

Fr. 1

1 ] . , lower part of oblique descending from left to right . . . [ ] . . . [ ] , second, foot of upright 2 υ ,  
 the seriffed foot but also the junction of the branches 4 [ ] , seriffed foot, left-hand end of horizontal  
 above (π, τ) 6 . . . [ ] , triangular top (α, δ, λ); then perhaps uprights and parts of cross-bar of η 7 . . . . ,  
 perhaps top and left-hand oblique of α, δ, λ; lower part of λ, unless a further trace to left belongs to the base-  
 line of a damaged δ; traces of oblique descending from left to right? δ η . . , top and left-hand tip of triangular  
 letter (α, δ, λ, μ); triangular letter (α, λ, end of μ) ρ . . . , left corner and back of triangular letter; left end of  
 high horizontal with parts of upright below (π, τ) 8 . . . . , first probably ο, just possibly ε . . . . [ ] , left-  
 hand arc of circle (ο, ε), but perhaps to be combined with next as ω; then seriffed upright on the edge  
 9 . . . . , elements of circle, ο or beginning of ω; uncertain traces; then possibly upper elements of μ 10 χ . . . . ,  
 top of α, δ, λ; top of υ, χ 11 . . . . , first, perhaps top of oblique descending from left to right (υ, χ?)

Fr. 2

1 ] . , remains of upright 2 . . . [ ] , first, left-hand arc of circle; both traces might combine in ω  
 3 ] . , overhang of ε, ε? ρ, or just possibly a damaged τ 4 [ ] . , probably overhang and base of ε  
 5 [ ] , left-hand side of circular letter? 6 [ ] . . , perhaps elements of κ, χ; then ο, ε?

2 β[ο]υλησετ[.

3 Probably ἡ μὴν κύ with the future, a threat, as at Aristoph. *N.* 865, 1242, *V.* 1332, cf. *Ecol.* 1034, *Plu.* 608 (so ἡ μὴν ἐγώ at *V.* 643, Eup. fr. 192.151 KA).

6 γραφαίς ἔν' or γραφαίς? νόμων γραφαίς in anonymous trochaic tetrameters, CGFPR 292.13.

7 The traces would allow ἀλλ' οὐχὶ Δημάρατ[. But if so, who? The Spartan king might be linked with treachery (cf. 8); but does one expect such an historical allusion? Of Athenians (LGN II 103), only the commander mentioned at Thuc. 6.105.2 is remotely of the right period. Nothing is known of him except for this raid (summer, 414); but his colleague Laispodias made many appearances in comedy (Aristoph. *Av.* 1569 with schol.; Eup. fr. 107 KA). All references are or may be ten to fifteen years later than *Prospaltioi*.8 προδῶι[ looks possible: with οὐχὶ ἄν before? (ἄν=ἐάν is transmitted at Aristoph. *Th.* 154 and 1187, Pher. fr. 125 KA); or οὐχὶ ἄν? But προδῶι[ may not be excluded.9 ὦ μῶρε likely (Aristoph. *Egu.* 162 etc, fr. 402.1).

9-10 Any paragraphos between these lines will be lost in a hole in the papyrus.

10 Perhaps ὡς χαῖν[ (we owe the reading to Dr J. R. Rea); c seems to suit the traces better than ι or ν.

C. F. L. AUSTIN—P. J. PARSONS

## 4302. NEW COMEDY

fr. 1 101/206(c)

6.5 × 26 cm

Second/third century

fr. 2 16 2B.52/E(a) + 2B.48/A(a)

Fr. 1, here published for the first time, preserves to full height the line-beginnings of a single column, written in a handsome Biblical Uncial script. The twenty two lines of the column occupy 12.5 cm; the surviving upper margin measures 5.5 cm, the surviving lower margin 7.5 cm. The left-hand margin survives to 2.8 cm (possibly a trace from the preceding column on the edge to the left of line 7). Punctuation by paragraphos (added by a shakier hand) and double point (perhaps also by the shakier hand; in 7 certainly squeezed in between letters already written; in other places it seems that a gap had been left by the first hand). In 17 an acute accent on τι. Crasis marked in 10?

Fr. 2 is one of a group of ten pieces published by E. W. Handley in *Proc. XIV Int. Congr. Pap.* (1975) 133-148, with plates. These pieces make up the remains of three columns, not necessarily consecutive, of New Comedy. The columns have 22 lines; column height 12.5 cm, upper margin at least 6.3 cm, lower margin at least 7.2 cm. Handley considered whether another spacious Biblical Uncial manuscript, PRyl I 16 (CGFPR 248), might belong to the same roll, and decided against (especially since PRyl 16 was found at Theadelphia, not at Oxyrhynchus). But in a later article (*BICS* 24 (1977) 132-4, with plate) he argued that another handsome manuscript from Oxyrhynchus, IV 678 (CGFPR 269), might well belong to the same roll: format and script are very similar.

The new fr. 1 and Handley's fr. B (here renumbered as fr. 2) contain line-beginnings and line-ends from the same column: that is shown by the coincidence of subject matter, and the coherent supplements which offer for 14 and 17, as well as by the exact match of formats. The new piece confirms that 678 belongs to the same play, therefore to the same roll: the repeated αικρων (fr. 1.4, 18) will be the proper name preserved, with distinctive accent, at 678 7, and to be read in fr. 2.6; forms of προστάτης occur at fr. 1.5 and 678 5.

Handley considered the possibility that his fragments belonged to *Aspis*: the dialogue between Enquirer and Slave, preserved in his fr. A and B, might be a dialogue between Smikrines and Daos, and fit in the large lacuna after *Aspis* 468. H. J. Mette, *Lustr.* 25 (1983) 15, 21–3, accepted the placing, combined the fragments into continuous text, and offered some new supplements. M. Rossi, *Prom.* 3 (1977) 43–8, produced arguments against the attribution; W. G. Arnott, *Menander* I (1979) 7–10, and D. Del Corno, *Scritti in onore di O. Montevicchi* (1981) 125–31, are equally sceptical.

The new fragment contributes to this discussion. (i) We do not know whether Aristopeithes (3) appeared in the play; but clearly Aischron played a substantial part, and prima facie he is addressed, i.e. on stage, in 4 and 18. But no such character appears in the reasonably full cast-list that we can reconstruct for *Aspis*. (ii) A *prostates* appears here (4?, 5), and in the vocative in **678**. If the word here refers, as often, to the patron of a metic, that would suit the concern with property and the polemarch mentioned in Handley's fr. C. But, as Rossi argued, although property is central to *Aspis*, there is no clear mention of metic property.

What happens in fr. 1+2 is less easy to say. We think it most likely that the general theme is an actual or potential swindle, directed to the property of an heiress who, being a metic, is in the charge of a *prostates* and subject to the jurisdiction of the polemarch: some undisclosed fact will make the swindle rebound on its perpetrator. The position of an heiress is (given the nature of Athenian law) a likely enough motif for a comic plot: apart from *Aspis*, compare LIX **3972**. Another type of financial plot is implied by the title of Menander's *Parakatatheke*.

Fr. 1

1 α. . . [ ] . . . [ ]  
 εξω . . . δα[ ]  
 αριστοπ[ ]  
 αιχρων[ ]  
 5 οπρоста . [ ]  
 μνασεβδ : [ ]  
 μνασεβδ . [ ]  
 εγωπαρε[ ]  
 κορινθια[ ]  
 10 τ̄αργυριο[ ]  
 ελαβεσσυ[ ]  
 τιμηγκ[ ]  
 ειληφαπ[ ]  
 εβλεπομ . [ ]

Fr. 2

top

] . φη : [ ] . λεγε :  
 ] . . . μναιδεκα .  
 ] . ουκοιθακυ  
 ] ηγενοιδ' οτι  
 ] . [ ] . φουσεχει  
 ] . . . . . ρων . . [ ]  
 ] ερας : αλλουκεχεις [ ]  
 ] κορινθια :  
 ] κατελιπε  
 ] . . . . . υσπαρων  
 ] τιο . . . [ ] . . . [ ]  
 ] εις . . γωδετι  
 ] . ιονουκαρα  
 ] οντεσπλησιον

15 κυδεμοι . [ ] νοντιδραπετα  
 παντως : π . [ ] ] ανοντι : δηλαδη  
 τ̄ιεστ' αναμ[ ] ] . αυτονεχολημ  
 αιχρων : π[ ] ] ωτοπραγμ' εχω . [ ] ] τωκαλλιανσμ . . [ ]  
 . ο . [ ] ] εστιτου[ ] ] . [ ] ] τεμαθον .  
 20 ωπαμπον [ ] ] . ιννιμαχει :  
 ωσουποης . [ ] ] . δηλαδη  
 τ̄ωνωμολ . [ ] ] ιςτουτο . και καθαπερειτην[ ]  
 εκεινηγ̄επ . . ειθε<sup>ε</sup>[ ]

foot

Fr. 1

1 . . . [ ] , seriffed foot just below the line; ink (foot of upright?) at line-level . . . [ ] , upright; left-hand arc of circle (sigma? enough papyrus survives on the right to exclude ο, ω?) 2 εξ, traces above, paragraphos? ω . . , top of λ? then indeterminate ink on shifted fibres 3 τ, trace might allow π but space is against it? . . . [ ] , ε or θ 5 . . . [ ] , left-hand end of high horizontal, more ink at line-level to the right 6 . . . [ ] , upright trace, or part of the left-hand arc, on the edge 7 . . . [ ] , left-hand arc of circle on the edge 8 . . . [ ] , traces on edge, perhaps left-hand oblique of λ or the like? 10 τα, horizontal trace above alpha, too far right to continue the paragraphos (i.e. longum?) 14 . . . [ ] , curve and speck suggesting top of ε or c 15 . . . [ ] , trace of mid-height horizontal on projecting fibre 16 : , lower point uncertain, but rather this than the end of the lower curve of c before . . . [ ] , lower left corner of α, δ 19 ο . . . [ ] , left-hand arc of circle; upright, possibly junction with descending oblique at top 21 . . . [ ] , left-hand arc of circle on edge 22 . . . [ ] , left-hand arc, ο or c

Fr. 2

1 . . . [ ] , upper fibres stripped, short horizontal trace on the underlayer at line-level, well to the left of φ 2 . . . [ ] , confused traces; then upright cut off at the top by stripping 3 . . . [ ] , point at line-level, possibly foot of oblique descending from left 4 οτι, tiny trace high to right of iota, possibly remains of high stop? 5 . . . [ ] , τ or perhaps ] . γ . . . [ ] , upper fibres stripped 6 . . . [ ] , high trace unexplained (too high to belong to any normal letter in this line; possibly long descender from 5, i.e. φ, ψ?) 7 . . . [ ] , third, top of ε, c; fourth, converging diagonals, top of υ, χ . . . [ ] , parts of upright, or added dicolon; left-hand side of ε, θ? 8 υ . . . [ ] , upper arc of θ, ο 10 . . . [ ] , left-hand arc of circle; top of υ, χ; upper arc of circle 11 ο . . . [ ] , first, upright; third (or fourth?), lower arc of circle; other traces in this line are vestigial and on the underlayer 12 high stop vestigial . . . γ, small traces in vertical alignment 13 . . . [ ] , right-hand arc, θ, ο 16 . . . [ ] , oblique descending from left to right (α, δ, λ) 17 . . . [ ] , apparently upper and lower tips of c 19 . . . [ ] , high point of ink 20 . . . [ ] , fibres twisted; possibly lower left arc of circle 21 . . . [ ] , thick horizontal ink at half-height

Fr. 1

1 α. . . [ ] . . . [ ]  
 εξω . . . δα[ ]  
 Αριστοπε[ ] ιθ  
 Αιχρων[ ]

Fr. 2

] . φη : λέγε :  
 ] . ι μναι δέκα .  
 ] . οὐκ οἶθα εὐ  
 ] ης εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι



5	ὁ προστάτ[ης μῆας ἐβδο[μήκοντ' μῆας ἐβδο[μήκοντ' ἐγὼ παρε . [	] . [ . ] φους ἔχει ] . c ἐστ' Αἰσχρων . . [ ] ] ερας : ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχεις [ ] ] Κορινθία : ] κατέλιπε
10	Κορινθία[ τὰργύριο[ν ἔλαβες κυ[ τιμὴν κ[ εἰληφαπ[ ἐβλέπομε[ν	] εὑθὺς παρῶν ] τιο . . . [ . . . ] ] εἰς · ἐγὼ δε τι ] . ιον οὐκ ἄρα ] οντες πλησίον
15	κύ δέ μοι . [ ] πάντως : πα[ τί ἐστ' ἀναμ[ Αἰσχρων : π[ ζόν ἐστι του[ ὦ παμπόν[ηρ ὡς οὐ ποης . [ ] τῶν ὀμολο[γγημένων	] νοντι, δραπέτα ] ανοντι : δηλαδῆ ] . αυτὸν χολῆι ] ω τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἔχω · [ ] ] κ[α]τέμαθον · ] . ι νυνι μαχεῖ : ] . δηλαδῆ ] ις τοῦτο· καὶ
20		καθαπερειτην[ εκενηγῆσ . . εἰσθε[ ]

The two likeliest supplements (14, 17) set the central lacuna at c. 12 letters.

We have three clues to the general reconstruction. (i) Characters. Clearly we have dialogue, but no evidence of a third speaker. One speaker will be Aischron, if he is addressed in 4 and 18; one or other might be a slave, if we assume (what is not certain) that only a slave would be addressed as *δραπέτα* (15). (ii) Background. We have to accommodate ὁ προστάτ[ης, Κορινθία (if a person), κατέλιπε, money and an agreement (22). One scheme would involve a Corinthian metic, an inheritance, and her Athenian patron; the polemarch (mentioned in Handley's fr. C 1) would have jurisdiction in such cases. (iii) Action. This is an argument: the speakers proceed by taking up each other's words (3-4?, 6-7, 8-9, 15-6). In 17 Aischron is apparently exhorted to keep calm; therefore it may be he who uses the insults in 15 and 20. The other party perhaps questions his conduct, and especially what he has done with the money. Note that paragraphoi may (or may not) be lost below lines 17 and 19.

Some of this can be confirmed from Handley's fr. A. There too there is a dialogue. One party is certainly a slave (3). There is mention of money (2), of theft (5), of making a true *apographē* (14) of what is 'within' and what has been loaned out (15). Prima facie it is the slave who must account for the property.

1 αυτης[ possible.

] φη, the first trace is on the underfibres, and probably too far to the left to encourage εφη. Since the talk is of money, ἀπογορ[αφή (ἀπεγορ)αφή etc) would be one possibility (cf. Handley's fr. A 14).

: [ . ] , perhaps : [ . ] . After η, apparently a dicolon in normal form, though rather faint; then a little scattered ink; then two short horizontals which also could be taken as a bold dicolon. Since the surface is relatively well-preserved, we assume that a letter was deliberately expunged; it is not clear why part of it was left (unless indeed the original dicolon was expunged with the rest, and the short horizontals were written to replace it and to fill out the gap).

2 After εξω (ἐξω, ἔξω) the top of a triangular letter; doubtful ink on shifted fibres, possibly a median horizontal; then δ; then another triangular letter, in context presumably α. Against διδα[ει: the space, and perhaps the trace, suggest something wider than iota. δεδα[ would suit the second trace, if the fibres are rightly arranged: perhaps ξξω δεδα[ν- (cf. A 15 πόσ' ἐστὶ] τῶνδον, [πό]σα κεχρήκαμέν τιων).

] . ι, apparently not κ]αι (say, τάλαντον ἐν κ]αι=70 minas, as in 6-7); possibly ]νι. If so, we could think of a proper name (say, ξξω δεδα[ν]εισται Δεξίω]νι μναὶ δέκα, / Ἀριστοπε[ίθει μναὶ δέκ').  
μναὶ δέκα, Men. *Kólax* 129.

3 Ἀριστοπε[ιθ-: the proper name seems inevitable (αριστοπο[ι- cannot be read): not attested in literature, but there is a scatter of examples in inscriptions (two from Attica, LGPN II (1994) 60).

4 Αἰσχρων or αἰσχροῶν, but its recurrence (6, 18) points to a proper name; and in IV 678 it is accented as such. This name too is new in Comedy, and in literary texts in general; but very common in Attic inscriptions (LGPN II (1994) 16). Here, after κύ, and 18, after αυτὸν, it looks like a vocative.

] ης: given the many repetitions, ὁ προστάτ]ης could be considered, cf. 5.

εὐ οἶδ' sounds like an answer to οὐκ οἶσθα. Then there must be a change of speaker (immediately?) after Αἰσχρων. But certainly no paragraphs was written.

5 ὁ προστάτ]ης: 678 5 ὦ προστατ[. The word is used at Men. *Pk* 279, fr. 408.2, but in very general senses. In the particular sense of a metic's legal patron, it would cohere with Handley's fr. C 1 π]ολεμαρχο[ : see Harrison, *Law* I 193 f.

] . [ . ] φους: Handley originally proposed ]τ[ρ]οφους (whence κυν]τρόφους Mette). But τ is not certain, and nothing can now be seen of the letter before φ: so that (say) ἐ]γγ[ρ]α]φους might be considered.

6-7 What money? (i) It might be the price of a Corinthian girl (8-9), cf. Plaut. *Pers.* 743 *minas sexaginta* (and often), *Epid.* 468. (ii) It might be a capital sum, possibly an inheritance (9?), which has to be accounted for (by or to the *prostates*).

6 Αἰσχρων: the reading is confirmed by the new context. Then, apparently, dicolon and ε[ or θ[: e.g. ἐ]γώ, ἐ]χεῖ (cf. 5) etc.

8 παρε . [ , apparently an upright on the edge, e.g. παρέρ[γως, παρ' ε . [ , rather than παρελ[θῶν, παρές[χον? But the traces are slight.

Κορινθία might be an ethnic (it is the title of plays by Antiphanes and Philemon), or a proper name. But clearly the neuter Κορίνθια could not be excluded. κατέλιπε 'left' might suggest a will, and Κοράνθια could then refer to heirlooms. But the verb could equally mean 'left behind' (of persons, *Asp.* 127, 292, *Pk.* 174).

10 τὰργύριο[ν. The crasis is apparently noted in the papyrus by a long-mark.

]': e.g. ἀλλ]'

11 ]τιον possible: [μαρτύρων ἐναν]τίον, then (say) τριῶν? τινῶν?

12 ]εις: the stop is vestigial; not seemingly a dicolon. At the end, δὲ τί or δέ τι.

13 ]ο or ]θ. Perhaps οἶον οὐκ ἄρα / ἐβλέπομε[ν ἡμεῖς οἱ παρ]όντες 'Did I receive something?'—'As if after all we didn't all see it at close quarters.' Or, if οὐκ ἄρα should begin its clause, γελ]οῖον' (the stripped fibres might conceal a stop, or even a dicolon) οὐκ ἄρα / ἐβλέπομε[ν ὀρθῶς οἱ παρ]όντες. No sign of dicolon after πλησίον, although the surface is partly preserved.

15 ]νοντι, 16 ]νοντι: -ανον τί? or a verbal form? After ἔλαβες and εἰληφα (11, 13), the alteration might continue (say) κύ δέ μοι π[αρήθη λαμβά]νοντι, δραπέτα; < : > πάντως : πα[ρήθη λαμβ]άνοντι : δηλαδῆ.

16 πάντως: the dicolon following is likely, although the lower dot is dim. This might be a one-word comment, as at Men. *Ep.* 238; but there is no sign of dicolon at the end of 15, although the paragraphos indicates a change of speaker at some point in the line.

δηλαδῆ might be a one-word utterance (Alex. 177.6, as articulated by Meineke); or a one-word clause (Ar. *Vesp.* 442). Again there is no sign of dicolon after it.

17 τί ἐστ' : ἀνάμ[ενε καὶ κάτεχ]ε αυτὸν χολῆι? Cf. Men. *Sam.* 327. The traces before αυτὸν most suggest c; but a small disturbance of the fibres may be enough to conceal the right-hand tip of the cross-bar of ε.

Below the beginning, damaged fibres; a paragraphos may or may not have been written.

18 f. For example: π[αρήθη (cf. 15-6). καθαρο]ῶ τὸ πρᾶγμ' (*Sam.* 153-4), ἔχω. / ζόν ἐστι τοῦ[το τοῦργον, ἄρτι] κ[α]τέμαθον. But there are two uncertainties about the punctuation. (i) After πραγμ, high ink has the right shape for an apostrophe, but another spot below remains unaccounted for: was it a middle stop? or might it be taken with the high ink to form a dicolon? (ii) What follows εχω might be a stop, or a damaged dicolon.

The decipherment of the marginal note remains doubtful. It we take the squiggle as an all-purpose abbreviation mark (as often in documents), we could interpret τῶι Καλλιαν(ῶι), Καλλιάν(ακτι)—attested names

(but not in Comedy); then possibly μαχ[? If this is a gloss, there must have been some equivalent in the text; yet the space and the sense leave little room for manoeuvre.

19 Below the beginning, stripped fibres; a paragraphos may or may not have been written. End, high stop rather than damaged dicolon.

20 ὦ παμπόν[ῤρ' ἀνθρωπ', ἐμοί νονί μαχεῖ; Cf. CGFPR 230.18; Men. *Misoum.* 132 ἐμοί μαχεῖ, τάλαν;

21 ποης. [, the trace would allow ο or ω. ποιέω [γ' οὐδέν? Or if ]ιc in 22 represents a verb, ὡς οὐ ποιέω[ν οὐδέν, Αἰεχρο[ν, δηλαδῆ, . . . -ε]ιc τοῦτο?

22 Mette reconstructed the marginal note thus: καταπερεῖ τῆν [λόγχην· ἐκείνη γ(άρ) ἐπιειθε(ίca)[ (we could then supply a verb to mean 'causes fear' or the like). This depends on recognising a form of ἐπιείω, and in that the decipherment looks plausible. Two oddities remain: γ, which would normally represent γην or γων, must be taken as γάρ (normally γ) or indeed γοῦν (elsewhere γ<sup>o</sup>); the ink after θε looks like a raised vertical (iota?), again an unusual form of abbreviation. The note presumably refers to the text on its left. Nothing that survives looks in need of explanation; therefore the difficulty must have occurred in the lacuna. Did the text have ἐπιείει]ιc τοῦτο, 'threaten me with this'? or better a synonym, say ἐφεί]ιc, which the comment explains as a metaphor from spear-throwing?

C. F. L. AUSTIN—E. W. HANDLEY—P. J. PARSONS

4303. NEW COMEDY, ?MENANDER

29 4B.44/E(1-2)a

7.5 × 9.8 cm

Third century

Written along the fibres in a brisk, good-sized Severe Style. The back is blank. Surviving upper margin of 2.5 cm. Elision marks, diaeresis; diastole in 3; no dicola visible. A correction in 7 (the ink suggests a second hand).

8-9 preserve a version of the formula which introduces the choral interlude at the end of act I in various plays of Menander; the ink surviving in 10 should probably be interpreted as a decorative flourish above a large and widely spaced X O P O Y. This naturally suggests Menander, unless the same wording was used by other New Comedy poets.

top

]θoτ . . [ . . . ] . ci . 'ανητω[
]υνε . [ . ] . . . . γειcτ[
]νου . . . . ιccυθατ' τονθ[
] . οι . . [ . . . ] . . καιβαδιζ' ο[
5 ]ωδ' . . . . ν . ροcαγορα[
]τηνιδ' ν προειπειν[
]ελλ' . . . . ιπροcυμαcαν . [
]cιονταcαθροουcορωτω[
] . εινευκαιρονειναιμο[
10 ] . [ ] . [ ]

1 ]θ, no elision mark visible . . [ , oblique foot at line-level?, foot of long descender . . ] , ν? or α, λι? ι, γ? or part of τ? 2 ε, ., point at line-level 3 see commentary 4 ] ., remains of

tall (deep) upright on edge . . . ., speck level with foot of ι (the lower part of this letter must be narrow, to fit into the lacuna); then probably c, but there may be enough damage to the right to allow a mutilated ο ] . . , point on edge at line-level; foot of upright and then horizontal at two-thirds height (two letters? or combine as ε with extended cross-bar?) 5 δ' . . . ., ε or c; then part of oblique descending from left to right; then elements of ε, θ? ν . . , parts of two uprights 7 λλ, suprascript above the second lambda, a circlet (damaged at the centre, so that θ would be possible) αν . [ , left-hand end of high horizontal 8 ]c, only the tips 9 ] . , short horizontal from left, nearly at line-level 10 ] . [ , tiny horizontal trace, then rising oblique like acute accent ] . [ , lower arc of circle, very high in line (what?)

top

]θoτ . . [ . . . ] . ci . 'ανητω[
]υνε . [ . ] . . . . γειcτ[
]νου . . . . ιc cυ θαττον θ[
] . οι . . [ . . . ] . . και βαδιζ' ο[
5 ]ωδ' . . . . ν . ροc αγορα[
]την ιδ' . ν προειπειν[
]ελλ' . . . . ι πρoς υμαc αν . [

και γαρ προ]cιονταc αθροουc ορω τω[ac
οιc μη νoχ]λειν ευκαιρον ειναι μο[ι δοκει.

10

] . [ ] . [ ]

8-9 show that we are dealing with iambic trimeters, and that c. 8 letters or 3 syllables are lost at the line-beginning.

1 ]θoτ . . [ , the first trace looks like the foot of an upright hooked to the right at line-level, the second extends well below the line; they are spaced close together. Perhaps ε or ο followed by ι ρ υ (or presumably φ ψ)?

] . ci . ' , the second trace gamma or possibly tau (the surface is damaged where the left-hand end of the cross-bar would be expected). It looks as if either ci or αν must be a short syllable; but we see no obvious articulation. αν as particle or for εαν? ανη, cf. CGFPR 260.32? (We have not enough text to decide whether the scribe wrote iota adscript consistently; probably he did so in 7.) Hardly α νη τω [θεω; or a form of ανητων (this spelling unlikely in Attic)? Before that, cty' (but not attested in New Comedy)? -ci γ'? ctγ' (i.e. cτγ: but we have not found this plural in Comedy).

2 end γεειc . [ likely (rather than λγ).

3 ]νου . . . . ιc. After ν, traces of a slightly inclined upright and another sloping more sharply down from left to right (λ, ν?); then a horizontal at mid-height, its left-hand end perhaps joining an upright; then part of an upright. ι is an upright, joined from the left by a horizontal at half-height: ει very likely. We have considered various supplements on the lines of τoπραχθε]ν ουκ ερειc cυ θαττον θ[ (at the end a dative, e.g. Θ[αδι? or a vocative, e.g. θ[ηριον?]). (i) ουκ ερειc suits a familiar pattern of indignant question (cf. *Perik.* 526, *Sam.* 678-9, 719-20). But the trace tells against κ: the descending oblique is too long and steep. (ii) ον ερειc: ν looks possible, if a little cramped. (iii) ον λεγειc fits best palaeographically (there seem even to be traces of the apex of λ, hooked to the left).

With suitable supplements in 4-7, we could reconstruct the action thus: a slave instructs another character to report to a third; he himself will go to the agora (5) to warn his master (6), and will then (who

will then?) return (7). But Professor Handley points out that the general interpretation of 3 is itself uncertain; in 4–7 he suggests, with some details different from the supplements suggested below: *καὶ βάδιζ'*,  $\delta[\pi\omega\varsigma / [\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\sigma\tau' \cdot \epsilon\gamma]\acute{\omega} \delta' \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\acute{\omega}\nu \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}[\nu \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota / [\tau\omicron\nu \delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{\omicron}] \tau\eta\nu \acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}\nu \pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu [\tau\alpha\delta\theta', \acute{\iota}\nu\alpha / [\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\iota\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\nu]\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu \eta\acute{\iota} \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau[\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha.$

4 *βάδιζ'* might be taken to continue the instructions from the line before, 'get a move on' (see Gomme–Sandbach on *Epir.* 376). Alternatively (with a different speaker? no dicola can be seen, but any paragraphoi will be lost with the line-beginnings) *βάδιζ'*  $\delta[\pi\omega\iota / \theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma.$  Before this  $\omicron[\mu\omega]\zeta\epsilon$  is tempting (*Epir.* l.c.), but the space looks a little short, even if  $\omicron$  is acceptable.

5  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}[\nu \overset{\cup}{\cup}$  or  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}[\nu \overset{\cup}{\cup}$ . The traces would in fact suit  $\ast \cdot \acute{\epsilon}\gamma]\acute{\omega} \delta' \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$  (cf. *Asp.* 212 etc); probably  $\theta\omega\nu$  rather than  $\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ , since the trace (admittedly very slight) looks too curved for iota.

6 E.g.  $\tau\omicron\nu\delta \delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{\omicron}[\tau\eta\nu$  (καὶ  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{\omicron}[\tau\eta\nu$  Austin, to connect the participles)  $\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}\nu \pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu [\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota.$  The traces might allow  $\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\upsilon\nu$  (but it would be a little cramped); not  $\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\alpha\nu.$

7 ] $\epsilon\lambda\lambda$  . . . , above the second  $\lambda$ , a circle in thicker ink, prima facie  $\omicron$  but damaged enough in the middle to allow  $\theta$  (in which case a thickening at the middle right is the end of the cross-bar); after the second  $\lambda$ , prima facie  $\eta$ , but the left-hand upright anomalous, apparently in two movements; perhaps therefore  $\epsilon\iota$ , but there is no trace of the normal hook at the base of  $\epsilon$  (the top hook might be lost in a damaged patch); then upright, a short trace rising from left to right at line level; foot of upright, upright (together  $\eta$ ?).

Some form of  $(\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\nu)\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$  might suit the context; cf. Plautus, *Cas.* 526 *ego ad forum modo ibo; iam hic ero*, *Ps.* 561 *at ego ad forum ibo; iam hic ero* (Ter., *Eun.* 763–5, *Ad.* 277–86). We have considered two lines of attack: (i)  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\nu]\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu \eta\acute{\iota}$ , (ii) (a)  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\nu]\epsilon\lambda\theta\eta\iota\varsigma \eta\acute{\iota}$  (b)  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\nu]\epsilon\lambda\theta\eta\iota\varsigma [\eta\acute{\iota}$ . (i) requires us to read  $\epsilon\varsigma$ , which is a very long shot; and does not account for oblique ink crossing the  $\eta$ . (ii) (a) equally assumes that the oblique ink is accidental. (ii) (b) accounts for this ink as a deletion-stroke; since the papyrus is broken above, there may have been a correction written over the line; there is no clear sign that  $\iota$  too was crossed out.

$\alpha\nu$  [ , the left end of a horizontal, presumably  $\tau$ . The context suggests some urgency: therefore consider  $\alpha\upsilon\tau[\acute{\omicron}\theta\epsilon\nu? \alpha\upsilon\tau[\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha$  (Austin, Handley)?

8–9 'I see a crowd approaching, I think it's sensible not to get in their way.' This announces the approach of the chorus, apparently a standard feature on its first appearance at the end of Act I. See Handley on *Dysk.* 230–2, and add *Asp.* 245–9 and PKöln VI 243. 15–17. The wording of the introductory couplet varies from play to play. Here 9 is identical with *Dysk.* 232, *Epir.* 171 (elegant variation, *Perik.* 266): in all these Menandrian examples it forms the last line of Act I. 8 has no precise parallel; the closest is *Dysk.* 230–1, where the first line begins *καὶ γάρ* (cf. *Asp.* 246, Alexis fr. 112. 1 KA); alternatively *ὡς καί*, as at *Epir.* 169. *προσιόντας* is the normal verb (*Asp.* 247, *Dysk.* 230, *Perik.* 261, Alexis l.c.); *ἀθρόους* corresponds to *πάμπολλ* (*Perik.*), *ὄχλος* (*Asp.*, *Epir.*), *πλήθος* (Alexis), *turbae* (Plautus, *Ba.* 107, if the emendation is accepted). Professor Handley comments: 'as elsewhere, the departing character tells his companions (and therefore us) where he is going, by way of creating anticipation for the new Act'.

Dr C. F. L. Austin draws attention to the scansion of *ἀθρόους*. According to the normal treatment of mute + liquid in Comedy, the first syllable should be short (as it is at *Aspis* 78 and Aristoph. fr. 642 KA); exceptions occur in elevated speech (cf. Gomme & Sandbach on *Epir.* 324), but there is no sign of that here. He therefore suggests *προσιόντας* <τούδδ> *ἀθρόους*, comparing for *τούδδε* ... *τινας* *Dysk.* 230 *τούδδε Πανικτάς τινας*.

10 The second trace is a long shallow curve, apparently free-standing. It should probably be interpreted as a decorative flourish above a large and widely spaced *X O P O Y*. (So for example in XXXIII 2656, *Misoumenos*, *GMAW* no. 43.) The first traces might then be taken as the upper extremities of  $\chi$ . If so, and if the flourish stood above the last letter,  $\chi\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon$  would be approximately centred on line 9. But one might expect a corresponding flourish above the first letter, and there seems to be no trace of it on a largely undamaged surface.

Alternatively, the 'flourish' might represent the flat top of an enlarged letter, i.e.  $\Xi$ . But if  $K[OAA]\Xi$  was written, why a colophon after a single act? It is true that another manuscript from Oxyrhynchus, III 409 + XXXIII 2655, does apparently contain passages excerpted from *Kolax*, and it could be guessed that in a roll of selections a play-title might follow each extract. But there is no sign of a title in what survives of that manuscript, nor any proof that it drew on more than one play. We therefore discount this possibility, especially since 8–9 so clearly announce the arrival of a chorus.

P. G. McC. BROWN–P. J. PARSONS

## 4304. COMEDY

45 5B.57/H(1–3)a

8.3 × 12.3 cm

Late second/third century

An upper margin of 5.5 cm, and a small to medium-sized formal upright mixed hand of practised (though not ostentatious) elegance are signs that these remains of fifteen comic iambs come from a roll of some bibliographical pretensions. The back is blank. The handwriting may be assigned to the later second or early third century AD, in the context represented by Roberts, *GLH* nos 19a–c, and discussed by Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 22 f., apropos of the British Museum papyrus of Bacchylides (PLond 733); Roberts 20a, the Plato, *Phaedrus*, published as 1016, looks to be later, and a date for it later than the first third of the third century is now to be considered from evidence quoted in *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> under no. 84. There is a sheet join about 1 cm from the right edge.

It is a pity that the writing is somewhat obscured by abrasion and damage.  $\epsilon$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\omicron$ ,  $\varsigma$  are typically small and narrow, and  $\eta$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\pi$  typically broad; the angle of the pen, at about 45 degrees, shows clearly in the pointed triangulation of  $\alpha$  and  $\delta$ , the prominent arms of  $\kappa$  and the sharply angular base of  $\beta$ ;  $\rho$  has a small high loop, and  $\phi$  a flattened centre. Punctuation by single point is found at some line ends; there are no other lectional signs, nor any corrections.

The lines are identifiable as iambs because the resolutions in 2 and 4, in close succession, effectively eliminate the chance of their being trochaic, the so-called 'dactylic' pattern of resolution in trochaics being extraordinarily rare throughout Attic Comedy.<sup>1</sup> Hard though it is to be confident over a short and broken passage like this, the frequent end-stopping, marked by a punctuation at 6, 8, 10, 11 and 12, and perhaps at 3 and 9 also, and the lack of any sign of strong internal pause or of part-division, make one think that the fragment is part of a continuous speech, and one written in a less flexible style of verse than is characteristic of Menander. The Old Attic imperfect *ωνη* in 3 (if that is what it is) would likewise be a surprise in Menander; but *τυχόν* 'perhaps', if present in 9, and *γιν[- for γινγ[-* in 13 (once again irritatingly ambiguous), would be equally odd in a comedy of Aristophanes' time, and point us back again towards the fourth century. These observations, though they prove nothing, may still serve to keep the mind open to the thought that we may have to do with that rarity, a papyrus fragment of a play of pre-Menandrian comedy, such as is 427, a scrap assigned to the third century AD from the end of a roll containing Antiphanes, *Anthropogonia* (fr. 34 KA). That would be consistent with the content, in so far as it gives any clues; but the problems of being precise enough about that recall those of 3540, assigned to the first century, a fragment of a speech which was considered in relation to Aristophanes, *Second*

<sup>1</sup> Individual instances remain debatable, but with hardly more than ten or a dozen in all Attic Comedy, the chances of finding two so close are negligible; the control case is the Sicilian Doric dramatist Epicharmus, whose trochaic tetrameters have no such inhibitions. See Sandbach on Menander, *Dysk.* 774 and *Sik.* 135; Handley, *Dyskolos of Menander* 71 f. (now dated in part), with further references; and E. Wüst, *RhM* 91 (1950) at pp. 343–6 (also dated, but still usable).

*Thesmophoriazousae*, in spite of the presence of motifs which one would instinctively think of as later. So much that we should like to know about Greek Comedy remains undocumented.

A key point of the piece, it seems, turns on elements of the contrast between luxurious living, as typified by food and drink, and its opposite in the life of work and parsimony. Thus there is talk of eating delicately in 4, and (apparently) of eating and drinking in 6, as opposed to wearing the peasant's leather jerkin in 2, and to the sense of the adjectives *φιλάργυρος* and *φειδωλός* in 9 f. Curiously close to this, it may seem, is a motif known from a comic poet writing about the turn of the fifth century, Philyllios, and encapsulated in a single word cited in Hesychius (λ 1179 Latte) from the play *Poleis* (fr. 16 KA). *λιχνοφιλάργυρος* [*sic*, as in Kassel–Austin] is defined as *ὁ λιχρὸς μὲν, φειδωλὸς <δέ>*; a way in which this contrast can be made pointed in a comic narrative can be illustrated from the fourth-century dramatist Eubulus in *Pomoboskos*, fr. 87 KA:

τρέφει με Θετταλός τις, ἄνθρωπος βαρύς,  
πλουτῶν, φιλάργυρος δὲ κάλιτήριος,  
ὄψοφάγος, ὄψωνῶν δὲ μέχρι τριωβόλου.

That the present piece may be a personal narrative, as the fragment just quoted seems to be, is suggested by the first person verb of 4, and the possible first person verb or verbs in 1 and 3. That it contained quoted dialogue is suggested by the apparent imperatives in 6 and the other references to a second person in 7, 8, 13 and perhaps 5; that we have a story of significant action, and not simply recollective gnomologizing, is tantalizingly revealed by 7 'you are Heaven-sent', 8 'shall be settled with you' and 11 'a life-partnership'. A long prologue-speech, perhaps by a character from myth, emerges as a possibility to be considered; and it may be that something in this content, or in the detail to be examined below, will evoke a recognition or a comparison that has so far escaped notice.<sup>2</sup>

1 ] . ωτουτοτουτωνδερχ . [  
] νυνπεριαψαιδιφθεραν  
] ωικυνηκρατουμενω .  
] . ροσιψοφ . γουνεγω  
5 ] . νλαβοντ . [ . . ] . [ . ] ετει .  
] . οσπειθικαις . [ . . . ] φα . . .

<sup>2</sup> For the motif, see G. A. Gerhard, *Phoenix von Kolophon* (Leipzig–Berlin 1909) 59 ff.; for the type of speech (I have even wondered if the two are not the same), see PSI 1175 = Austin, *CGFP* 215, recently discussed by G. Xanthakis-Karamanos in *Proc. 20th Int. Cong. Papyrologists, Copenhagen 1992* (1994) 336–343.

10 ] . νοιστιςηλθεσε[ . ] θεων  
] . τοισκοιδιαλλαγησεται .  
] . . . . φιλαργυροντυχο .  
] ασοφειδωλοςφυσει .  
] . ρβιουκο[ . ] νωνιαν .  
] . απητ[ . . . . . ] .  
] κυγιω[  
] ρειπ[  
15 ] υ[

1 ] υ is suggested by traces of a stroke joining a vertical; abrasion and twisted fibres towards the end (where δ might have been expected); the last is just a dot 3 Part of the upright of κ is on twisted fibres and detached; at the end, ι or punctuation possible 4 ] α, ] δ, ] λ 5 ] , foot of a vertical, then ν, rather than αι: e.g. ν]νν, ε]νν-, πρ]ν; -ντι rather than -ντα, then probably 4 letters lost before -ετει ., the third with high ink: perhaps [νο]υ[θ]ετεις, -τειν 6–8 ] ., indefinite in each case 6 ?πειθι for πθι, just a curved foot for ε; [ . ] , high ink for ν or τ; after φα, a vertical and a round letter, partly abraded; each with a suggestion of a horizontal to make ] φαγε possible, and more likely than ] φας 9 First two are high horizontal, then high loop, as for ] τρος, ] ρρις, ] προς; at the end, τυχόν or τύχοι 11 ε]ις suits 12 ] ., trace of horizontal 14 ] β possible

1 . . . ] . ω τουτο, τουτων δ' ερχο[μαι  
] νν περιαψαι διφθεραν  
] ωι κυνη κρατουμενω  
το π] αρος ωσοφαγον ενω  
5 ] . ν λαβοντ . [ . . ] . [ . ] ετεις .  
] . ος πθι και κυ, [κατα] φαγε .  
] . νοις τις ηλθεε ε[κ] θεων  
επι το] υτοις κοι διαλλαγησεται .  
] . . . . φιλαργυρον τυχον  
10 π] ας ο φειδωλος φυσει .  
ε] ις βίου κο[ι] νωνιαν .  
α] γαπητ[ - ] .  
] κυ γιω[ -  
] ρειπ[  
15 ] υ[

1 Palaeographically there is nothing to choose between ερχο[μαι and ερχε[ται; but the former is suggested by the signs of a first person narrative in what follows. The ] . ω may also be the end of a first person verb, like επα] νω, but could just as well represent εκει] νω<ι> or one of several other words. I am assuming that the speaker is quoting his/her own part in a dialogue, to be answered by the other party at 6 ff.

2 With the beginning lost, we do not know on what in this line the *τούτων* in line 1 depends, nor for sure what part of the verb *περιάψαι* is, infinitive, optative, imperative. Without knowing, one can imagine a sense like 'I come prepared now to put on the leather jerkin that these people wear', supplementing with *θέλων ἐμαντῶ* (or *θέλουσ' ἐμαντῆ*); but that risks being imagination and no more. The *διφθέρα*, a garment for work, characteristically peasants' work, stands for toil, rusticity and poverty as opposed to ease, urbanity and wealth: so at Aristophanes, *Clouds* 72, it is the dress for a goatherd as opposed to the *ξυτρίς*, or *lacerna*, of a Megacles in his chariot; and in Menander, *Dyskolos*, it makes a symbolic as well as a visual contrast with the *χλανίς* worn by the young man from town (see 257 and 365, with the commentators on these passages).

3 ] *ὦι συνῆ*, if rightly so read, is the first of several possible indications that the speaker is a woman who is recalling a former spouse and a former life on entering into a new one: thus (taking a clue from the reference to time past in 4) 5 may refer to *τῶ τὸ πρὶν λαβόντι* 'my previous husband'; and the talk of an agreement in 8, of life partnership in 11, and of someone or something *ἀγαπητός* in 12 could all be thought of as consistent with this. For *συνῆ* first person, as at Plato, *Cratylus* 396d, see Rutherford, *New Phrynichus* 243: this Old Attic form of the imperfect of *εἰμί* is not, so far as I know, represented in Menander and New Comedy; in fifth century drama it is sometimes explicitly attested, as in Cratinus, *Pytine* 194 KA; and it is regularly accepted by editors from manuscripts, even if there is also a reluctance to displace the form *ῆν* systematically, for *ῆν* is metrically verifiable in a few places in Euripides and Aristophanes, and therefore presumably on its way towards the universal currency it eventually attained; there are particularly useful notes by Barrett on E. *Hip.* 700, MacDowell on Ar. *Wasps* 1091 and Kassel-Austin on Pherecrates, *Cheiron* 156. One can escape from this situation by supposing that *συνῆ*(ι) or *συνῆ*(ν) was intended, or by articulating as ]*ωι συνηκρατούμεν*, *ὦι*, and inventing for the purpose a new compound of *ἀκρατέω*; but I see no compulsion to do any of this. *κρατούμεν* presumably means 'in defeat'.

4 I suggest *τὸ π]άρως* as responding to *νῦν* in 2, but *ὁ κοβ]άρως* (if the speaker is male) is among the alternatives. *ὀψοφαγεῖν*, of indulging in fine food, Ar. *Clouds* 983; the adj. in *-ος* appears several times in Comedy: see the general introduction above.

5 If not *τῶ τὸ πρὶν λαβόντι* (see above on 3), one can think of other supplements both with and without the definite article, including *ε]νν- = συλλ-*. I can give no satisfactory account of the end of the line; EGT suggested *νουθετεῖς*, but was not satisfied by it, in presenting a provisional version of the piece to a seminar at the Institute of Classical Studies in 1978.

6 Possibly *ἐκε]ῖνος*, introducing what I take to be a quotation by the narrator. *πίθι* is restored for *πεῖθι* in Alexis, *Tokistes* 234 KA, a quotation in Athenaeus; *καταφαγεῖν* and *πιεῖν* in collocation, Ar. *Ach.* 78, *καταφαγῶν ... ἐμπιπῶν*, Epicharmus, *Hope or Wealth* 35.7 Kai./103(b).7 Ol.; *καὶ σύ* with imperative 'you in your turn', as at M. *Dysk.* 134; cf. Headlam-Knox on Herondas 2.65 — i.e. in this context, it is 'join me'.

7 The structure, if not the sense, might be given by *σωτήρ ἐν πενομ]ένοις*: i.e. nominal subject and noun or its equivalent governed by *ἤλθεε* are apparently what is lost; *ἐκ θεῶν*, like *de caelo* or 'heaven-sent', need not be strictly literal: indeed the *τις* suggests that it is not.

8 *διαλλαγῆσομαι*, P. *Rep.* 471a: with it one expects a personal subject, but it is not easy to see how that can have been so here; and one should perhaps think of *τὸ πᾶν δ', τὰ πάντ'* or something similar before the *ἐπὶ τούτοις* suggested by EGT.

9-10 On *φιλαργυρία* juxtaposed to a taste for luxury, see the general introduction above. After the presumed quotation, the speaker seems to turn to moral reflection: e.g. *οὕτω γὰρ ἔστι π]ᾶς* (or, more pointedly, *λίχνος γὰρ ἔστι π]ᾶς*).

11 *συνιέναι εἰς κοινωνίαν* of marriage, P. *Laws* 962c; and see Sandbach on M. *Epit.* 600/920, Kassel & Austin on Diod. fr. 3.5.

12-13 Technically ambiguous: for, if the lack of diastole is discounted, one can think of different articulations, ]*γ' ἀπῆτ[ε* and ]*σύ γ', ἦν[α*.

E. W. HANDLEY

#### 4305. NEW COMEDY: (?) MENANDER, SYNARISTOSAI

33 4B.88/B (1-4)a

Fr. 1 9.4 × 8.4 cm

Third century

Lively comic dialogue in the style of New Comedy is recognizable in these tattered remains of lines from the top of two (or three) columns from a roll with about 2 cm of

preserved upper margin. The script, practised rather than calligraphic, is of the same general type as that of 3967 (Menander, *Misoumenos*) and the parallels mentioned there; but it is of a more modest size, and written on the side of horizontal fibres, with the back blank, and not on the back of a document: one might guess that the roll was correspondingly of small-to-medium rather than large format.

Col. i of the larger fragment has the latter part of three verses, then an act-ending marked by *XOPOY*; then remains of ten more verses. The first three give the appearance of being somewhat longer than the rest; but they are of comparable length metrically, and with the aid of a known form of oath which can be restored in 6, it is possible to conclude that all are iambic trimeters, like the lines of col. ii and the closely uniform line-ends of the smaller piece called Fr. 2. There is nothing to show whether fr. 1 ii and the smaller piece go together, or to make possible a calculation of the original number of lines to the column. Part-division is marked by paragraphos twice in fr. 1 ii, which also has traces of a marginal speaker's name, and another one (it may be) is at the end of fr. 1 i 9; fr. 1 i twice has dicola at line-ends. There is a high point at the end of fr. 1 i 2; no other traces of punctuation or lectional aids survive, though gaps and damage may have removed some; iota in the long diphthong *ηι* is once written, once ignored, in a word repeated in fr. 1 i 1.

Of individual letter forms, one notes *α* in three strokes, with crossbar sometimes horizontal; *β* (fr. 1 i 3 and 8) with informal shallow bows; *κ* (and *χ*, fr. 2. 9) with narrow-angled arms; *μ* in three strokes, the last sometimes a shallow curve; *ρ* variable (e.g. fr. 2.2 and 5); and also *ν* (note it in fr. 1 i 3 [twice] and 4, and in fr. 2.4); *φ* with rounded, not flattened body. Some of these features enter into the recognition of letters that are broken.

With so short and scrappy a text, interpretation must be tentative. It can begin from the multiple oath in fr. 1 i 6-7. The speaker (call him B) strenuously affirms something which his interlocutor (C) denies, part of C's denial being represented by *ἐγώ* at the end of 5, which is marked off from B's outburst by the dicolon, and may well be an independent remark, 'What, me?', in which case, with a dicolon after *ἀρτίως*, there is a lively exchange in which C speaks the beginning of 5 and B the middle. What B affirms, *φήμι' ἐγώ σε καταλαβεῖν* (8), on the face of it means 'I say I've caught you', but the face of it is not all there, and detailed consideration will have to recognize the potential ambiguities that incompleteness admits. It is for serious consideration that C is a woman, even if none of the four possible indications of this is documentarily certain: namely, an apparent feminine participle used by B to refer to C in 4; a possible feminine adjective with the same reference in 5; the possible speaker's name at fr. 1 i 9, and the oath *μὰ τῶ θεῶ*, used in Attic only by women, which may be present in 10. We can perhaps add the possibility, depending on a divinatory reading in 9, that B's name is Demeas; but whether or not that is so, the working hypothesis that suggests itself is that this is a conversation between one of Comedy's Angry Old Men and a woman whom

he accuses of corrupting his son, that is a *hetaira* with whom he will have entered from one of the houses on stage at the beginning of the act: we wonder what he was doing there. The action is by now well advanced, for the previous act lacks the ending formula which by convention marks the end of Act I; and so it is no surprise, with the situation (or enough of it) known to the audience, and the characters immediately identifiable, that the new act begins without preamble, as they come on stage already engaged in their argument. With the recovery of more and more text over the last generation of scholarship, Menander's technique of linking the endings and beginnings of acts has become better known.<sup>1</sup> The chances are good that the situation in which B intervenes is the one referred to with recognizable dramatic irony in the act-ending given by 1-3; and that the irony is at his expense, with A and the audience knowing more than he does. In this assumed dialogue between A and B, A's identity is anyone's guess: one could think of another old man, an intriguing slave, an elderly female domestic or anyone who has, or can assume, the requisite attitude of superiority. Time will perhaps tell.

While we wait for more enlightenment, it may be worth recalling a situation similar to the one which has just been imagined, also, by bad luck, a problematical one because of fragmentary text: namely, the gappy passage of Plautus, *Cistellaria* at lines 306 ff., the play being based on the *Κνναριστώσαι* of Menander. Alcesimarchus' father, name not known, confronts the *meretrix* Gymnasium (Menander's Pythias), whom he finds at the door of the house Alcesimarchus has rented, and supposes that she is the girl Selenium (Menander's Plangon), who lives there with him.<sup>2</sup> In this comic episode of mistaken identity, Plautus makes the character a lecherous old man as well as an angry one. Judging above all by the sequence of action in which *Dis Exapaton* and *Bacchides* coincide, Plautus' capacity for altering both the characters' movements and the tone of a scene would not have been strained in transforming an action such as we imagine in the present fragment into the one fragmentarily surviving from the *Cistellaria*. That is by no means to claim that our fragment belongs to *Κνναριστώσαι*. The case would be strong if it were certain that Pythias is the name of a speaker at fr. 1 i 9; but the elements of comparison that can be made out may still have their value even if nothing more proves to be available to reinforce them.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eric Handley-André Hurst, *Relire Ménandre* (Geneva, Droz, 1990) at pp. 130-3, referring in particular to the full study by Alain Blanchard, *Essai sur la composition des comédies de Ménandre* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1983).

<sup>2</sup> Menander's names are given by the mosaic of the opening scene of the play in Chorapha, Mytilene, first published in the 1960's: S. Charitonidis-L. Kabil-R. Ginouvès, *Les mosaïques de la Maison du Ménandre à Mytilène* (*Antike Kunst, Beiheft* 6, 1970), pl. 5.1; Richard Green-Eric Handley, *Images of the Greek Theatre* (London 1995), fig. 51, with further references.

<sup>3</sup> It may be worth comparing the multiple oath of fr. 1 i 6-7 with *Cist.* 512 ff.

		Fr. 1		
		col. i		col. ii
		]ηρ. φθασχανδεφθασχιε		/κ. [
		]ιθ. ρησιμονχοιλεγω.		π. [
		] ζε. ουτονενβαλων		οργ[
		] . ΟΥ		. [
		]ααυπιυ[ . . . αρτιωσ:	5	κ[
5		]αιτι. δεπει. [ ]εγω:		π[
		]ωτη[ . . . νητ. ηλιον		τ[
		]ητ[ . . . π. [ ]λ[ ]τουτονι		πρ[
		]φημε. ωσεκατ. [ . . ]βει.		κα[
		]ηδ[ . . . ε. . . αμον. [ ]π[ ]θ[	10	. [
10		] . . . μ. τωθ[		
		]κε. . . εκρα[ . . ]τ. [		
		]δε[ . . ]δενη[ . . ]κ. [		
		] . [ ]ορμ[ . . ]δι[		

## Fr. 1, col. i

<sup>1</sup> In third place, high ink as for ι or (as I take it) upper arm of υ, though one might expect to see more of either. μ]η ού (if that is to be read) would be in synizesis at the same point in the line as at S. *OT* 13 and M. *Dysk.* 152.

<sup>2</sup> Before ρ, end of descending diagonal for χ; space and traces suggest ιεθι rather than ο]ιεθα.

<sup>3</sup> Trace of a vertical before abraded ζ: i.e. -]ιζε, not -]αζε.

Interlinear ΧΟΡΟΥ seems to be represented by ΟΥ rather than ΟΡ; there is a trace of ink amidst abrasion where the Ρ might have stood, but I see no sign of ΟΥ further right.

<sup>4</sup> is difficult, and potentially critical for interpretation. πω- is probably to be trusted, though there is a crack where the first upright should be; hardly τω-; then after a gap, possibly with nothing lost, traces of high ink from one letter or more likely two; but below, displaced downwards and slightly left, is the bottom right quadrant of a curve, representing either part of a round letter or of a curved foot of a letter belonging to this line. πω[ο]υε- is acceptable (for υ and ε note cv and αρτιωσ in this line); πωωτ- can be considered, but I do not see how to read πωωπ.

<sup>5</sup> High ink after the supposed τι could give τη instead, but given πω above there is probably room for τια. After επει, next may be round rather than upright; probably nothing lost before εγω, unless diastole and/or dicolon.

<sup>6</sup> Enough survives for two familiar oaths to be recognizable (see the restored version and commentary); the loss at the beginning is 12+ letters, a useful guide for the other lines, and the clearly visible displacement between υ and η in νη is a help with the reading of both 4 and 5.

<sup>7</sup> The latter half of the line again has a recognizable oath, that by 'Apollo here', Apollo Agyieus at the house door, as discussed by commentators on M. *Dysk.* 659.

<sup>8</sup> Right half only of φ; last stroke of μ broken away together with diastole (if any); high horizontal for γ joins presumed ω; last, trace of an upright.

<sup>9</sup> Before ε, a curved stroke, lower left quadrant; after it, possibly α, δ, λ, then right-hand end of a horizontal. Last is two diverging obliques, as for λ, α; less likely δ. A sequence of words such as Δ[η]μέα γάμον (or δ[η] μ' εα γάμον), followed by λ[εγεω] can be seen as a possibility.

Beyond the point where  $\theta$  should end, and clearly by their placing to be taken with this column and not the next, are what seem to be tops of two letters in a smaller size of script, probably with space for a narrow letter between them; they could represent a variant or other marginal note; or else, as I incline to take it, a speaker's name referring to a part-change within the line, as opposed to at its beginning. The first is a high narrow loop; it could represent  $\beta$ ,  $\rho$ , or the informally made  $\pi$  with rounded top as seen sometimes in text-hands with cursive tendencies, but more predictably in marginalia;<sup>4</sup> the top of the other letter has the shape of an arch, and is more like  $\theta$  than  $\epsilon$ ,  $o$ , or  $c$ . If the reading  $\Pi\{v\}\theta(\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma)$  could be depended on, its evidence would be of some importance, as the general remarks above have indicated.

10  $\mu\grave{\alpha}$  τὸ θ[εώ suits ( $\mu$  with shallow final curve, as in *χρησιμῶν*, 2 above, and fr. 2.10); but with no more context than there is, the words can be articulated and restored differently.

11 ]κες or ]χες, the last being a trace of a low curve; then high ink, perhaps top of  $\epsilon$ ; next perhaps  $\xi$  (there seems to be too much ink for  $\kappa$ , and not enough room for  $\kappa\kappa$ ): i.e. past tense of *ἐκκράζω*? At the end, little to choose between -]το and -]τε (the left-hand end of the cross-stroke of  $\tau$  is detached and twisted downwards).

Fr. 1 col. ii

1 To the left of the oblique, which betokens an abbreviated speaker's name, are perhaps two faint traces of ink, the second part of an upright.

2 ποτ[ can be read.

Fr. 1 col. i

μ]ῆ οὐ φθάσης, ἀν δὲ φθάσης,  
εὐ] ἴσθι, χρησιμόν σοι λέγω·

-]ιζε τοῦτον κυμβαλῶν.

XO ] P OY

-]ας εὐ πίν[ο]υς' ἀρτίως :

5 οὐ φημι. : κατήν] αἰτιᾶ<ι> δ', ἐπεὶ ζ'-[:] ἐγώ; :  
νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν C]ωτῆ[ρ]α, νῆ τὸν Ἥλιον,  
νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, ν]ῆ τ[ὸν Α]πό[λ]λ[ω] τουτονί,  
ἐπεὶ ]φήμ' ἐγώ σε κατα[λα]βεῖν

: ἦδ]η, Δ[η]μέα, γάμον λ[έ]γει; Π{v}θ(ια)

10 ]... μᾶ τὸ θ[εώ

-]κες ἐξέκρα[ξέ] τε[

]δε[.]δενη[.]κ.[

] [.]ορμ[.]δ[.]

(A: to B?) '[?I fear] you'll not make it first, but if you do [...], be sure of that, I give you an oracle: [...] as you work it out'

(*Exeunt: choral dance*)

<sup>4</sup> See G. Cavallo-H. Maehler, *Greek bookhands of the early Byzantine period, AD 300-800 (BICS Suppl. 47, 1987)*, 5a and 5b, where PBodmer IV of Menander, *Dyskolos* is instructively paired with a document dated to AD 338 which has  $\pi$  both formally and informally written; for informal  $\pi$  in the Menander, examples are in *πῶρος*, *Dysk.*, hyp. 12 and in *Καλλιπ/* at 835; contrast the same *nota personae* at 775; in PBodmer XXV (the same manuscript), in the note *οιδιπονευριποδου* at *Samia* 325; or in 2427 (*Epiclarmus*, ascribed to 2nd/3rd century) in the marginal name *Πυρρα*, fr. 2; contrast fr. 3.

(B: ?=Demeas, 9) '[...] at a drink-party just now'

(C: ?=Pythias, 9 margin) '[I deny it.]'

(B) 'But you accuse [yourself], since I ...'

(C) 'Do I?'

(B) '[By Zeus the] Saviour, by the Sun, [by Poseidon,] by Apollo here, [you do, since] I say I caught you [...].'

(C) '[So now] you're talking of marriage, Demeas?[...] by the Two Goddesses, no [...] and cried out'

1-3 These words at the end of the act may be said face-to-face by A to the person addressed, or they may be a send-off as that person goes on his way. In either case, A has a superior knowledge of the situation which the audience presumably shares; he uses it in an allusive irony which, without context, can no longer be savoured. If the situation either is or is like that of Plautus, *Cistellaria* 306 ff., as was suggested above, we can imagine that B (Demeas) has come to seek his son's mistress as a matter of urgency, wanting to break up the relationship in favour of a marriage with someone else. He has arrived at the house, and so the question whether he will 'make it first' is a live one; but if he does, A asserts oracularly, there will be some surprise in store—the outcome, as is prone to happen with oracles, could well be a reversal of what he expects. In the event, in *Cistellaria*, the old man comes from the country and finds the house; he finds there, not the girl he was looking for (whom he has not met), but a friend of hers who is temporarily looking after the place; and, while accusing the wrong person of being his son's mistress, he is eager to make love to her himself. In Plautus, with his way of eliminating act-breaks, the old man finds the woman at the house door, and in a typically Plautine passage, he is made to clarify the situation before further embroilment results (315-21); in the present fragment, if we pursue this interpretation, he is dismissed to go into the house he has come to find (by whom, we can debate with the cast-list of *Cistellaria*, if we wish), and emerges in argument with the woman. The situation in the new act will have been prepared for by what happened towards the end of the preceding one, before our fragment begins. So one might guess; but the detail is uncertain in many ways.

1 *δέδοικα κἀγώ* or *οὐκ ἔστι δέικαι* or some other expression of a fear would seem a probable preface to the *μ]ῆ οὐ* (assuming that is right) and to the word play with 'being in time' or not.

2 E.g. *ἔξειε τι νέον*, *εὐ] ἴσθι*; or perhaps something shorter, with *εὐ τοῦτ' ἴσθι* or *ἀκριβῶς ἴσθι*: a livelier and more oracular paradox would be welcome.

3 E.g. *εὐ μ' ἐνθεον νόμι]ιζε*. The stop at the end of 2 discourages the idea that the sense ran on. A possible supplement would be an adjective such as *ἀξιόλογον*; but the demonstrative *τοῦτον* may imply that other pronouns were present in contrast. The thought that there are obvious alternatives to *νόμι]ιζε*, among them *βιά]ιζε* (apt enough at the end of an act) or *εὐ]ιζε* 'remember it well', is something that makes one less than dogmatic. *κυμβαλεῖν* is used of interpreting a dream at E. *IT* 65; a *μαντεία*, Plato, *Crat.* 384a; an oracle, as here, Arist. fr. 532, cf. 76 [LSJ].

4 One can suggest *ἐμὸν ὄν ἐχρηκ]ας εὐ ...*, whether as question or statement of accusation; [LSJ], s.v. *ἐχω* A.1.4 has examples of the word used of sexual partnership, with which it is worth noting here M. Kolax fr. 4, a list of *hetairai* ending with *καὶ Ναννάριον ἐχρηκας ὠραίαν σφόδρα*. Alternatively *ἐφθειρ]ας* (*meum quae corruptit filium*, P. *Cist.* 317, cf. 365 f.), but the stronger word strikes me as less likely with *πίνους* (if that is indeed to be read). Sandbach on *Dysk.* 240 has useful remarks on expressions of the type *ἐμὸς ὄν* (the presence or absence of iota need not concern us here; the metrical pattern is as at *Samia* 347). As to *ἀρτίως*, at *Aspis* 421 *ὁ λαλῶν ἀρτίως ἐνταῦθ' ἐμοί* refers back from early in Act III to a conversation early in the previous Act at 250-84; and so from *Epir.* 260/436 early in Act III to the end of Act II, it being much debated whether a night is supposed to have intervened or not. What one wonders, however, is why the accusation of drinking (as opposed to corruption) was made at all, even admitting that women's fondness for drink is a perennial topic in Comedy. If the play really is *Synaristosai*, it is possible to think that Pythias is still dressed up as for the party with which the play began, and recognizably so; apart from what we know of her costume from

the surviving representations of the opening scene, at *Cist.* 306 the old man sees Gymnasium as *mulierculam exornatulam*.

5 The letters *αιτια*, if so read, can be noun, feminine adjective, or 2nd sing. of the verb *αιτῖαομαι*; the spelling in line 1 shows that the verbal form is as real a possibility as the others, and though one can construct such metrical phrases as *ἔπεστιν αἰτία δ' or cὺ πάντων αἰτία δ'*, the words surviving from 8 strongly suggest, while not proving, that the charge is being presented as self-evident: the initial denial, *οὐ φημι*, and the *ἐγώ*, answering a remark which is resented, as (for example) at *Samia* 286, seem very much in place.

6–7 The oath of assertion by Zeus Soter is familiar in Menander from *Epit.* 183/359 (Daos) and *Perik.* 336/759 (Pataikos); it appears also in fr. 951. 10 KT (as restored) and in Com. adesp., PSorb 72<sup>r</sup> (Austin, *CGFP* 257. 107). The oath is found in combination with others in a denial at *Samia* 309–10 (Parmenon): *μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον, μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλων τούτον, | μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτήρα, μὰ τὸν Ἀκκληπιόν*. Examples of multiple oaths with *μὰ*, including the triple one at *Dysk.* 666 f., are quoted by Kassel–Austin on Timocles, fr. 41, where a parody of Demosthenes is in question; Sophocles, fr. 957R has a triple oath with *νῆ*; at Ar. *Frogs.* 305 ff., Dionysus insists that Xanthias swears *νῆ Δία* three times over. The oath itself, as these passages make plain, does not reveal whether the speaker is young or old, slave or free; it does indicate strong emotion, and that emotion is sometimes, though apparently not here, distorted or overdrawn for broad or instant comic effect. The missing god in 7 might be Dionysus, pairing with Apollo as in *Sam.* 309 above; but *νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ* is also suitable, and fits the space better.

8 as construed here, picks up 5; though in theory, with the line not complete, *φήμ' ἐγώ ce καταλαβεῖν* might be 'I say [he] caught you' or 'I say you caught [him]', not to digress into other possible senses of the verb. On the present interpretation, 8 may have been completed by an expression meaning 'in the house' (*παρ' αὐτῷ or κατ' οἶκον* or something similar), and 9 may have begun with a participle, *μεθύουσαν*, or—less pointedly—*διάγουσαν*, the construction being as at *Dysk.* 259, *τὸν μὲν Γέταν οὐκ ἔνδον ἔντα κατέλαβον*, but the tone more like Plato, *Apol.* 22b *ὡς... ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ καταληψόμενος ἔμαντόν*, or *Perik.* 166/356 *καταλαβεῖν τὸν μοιχὸν ἔνδον*.

9 Demeas is a canonical name for the old man of Comedy who is head of a family, as in Menander's *Misoumenos*, *Samia*, *Imbrioi* and elsewhere. It appears in fr. 109, quoted as from *Dis Exapaton*, but attributed to *Second Adelphoi* by Webster, by comparison with Terence, *Adelphoe* 385 ff.; also in fr. 276, quoted from *Misogynes*, but with the variant *Κίμυλε*; and in unidentified plays in PArg. 53.16 (Austin, *CGFP* 252) and PPetr. 4. i. 5 (*CGFP* 244, line 326). Neither this name in the vocative, nor the supposed traces of a name in the margin, nor yet the reading *μὰ τὸ θ[εώ]* in 10 are beyond question, but, all told, it is a reasonable guess that there is a change within this line to the presumed female partner in the dialogue. The supplement *γάμον λέγει τις* in *Dysk.* 64: that might, I suppose (without the benefit of context), by a way of saying 'are you criticizing me as if I were married to him?', or 'are you talking about him marrying?'; but such a remark could be made, or could be taken, as one implying a more personal sexual challenge.

10 *μὰ τὸ θ[εώ]*, if right, accompanies a further denial by the woman in the scene.

11 It is hard to escape the idea that some part of *κράζω* is present, but also hard to decide what part, or to see what function 'shouting' could have here. *-]κες/-]χες* suggests a 2nd person singular, but could be read as *-ε c'* or as a neuter adjective ending such as *οὐρανόμη]κες*, *δυση]χέες*; then, with both the perfect *κεκρα[γ-* and the pluperfect *ἐκεκρα[γ-* both being rather harder to accommodate palaeographically, I am taking it that the rare *ἐκκράζω* might be there as *ἐξεκρα[-*, imperfect or aorist, either 1st or 3rd person singular followed by *τε* or second person plural. Unhelpfully, *ἐκκραγγάνω* is quoted from Menander, fr. 728; more useful, perhaps, is *Samia* 364 *κέκραγε γοῶν παμμέγεθες*, which suggests that the quest for a neuter adjective may be on the right track. 'I cry/cried out loud' seems a most unlikely remark by either character here; 'you (pl.) cried/are crying out' would cause us to suppose that a third party intervenes and complains at the noise of the argument, like the cook Sikon, say, at *Dysk.* 621, but that would again be a shock to what seems to be developing as an interesting confrontation, and has no counterpart in the scene of *Cistellaria* which has been used as a model. It remains to suppose that 'he cried out' is being said by the woman in the scene about the man whose mistress (in our reconstruction) she is thought by 'Demeas' to be. Here *Cistellaria* gives one more clue—or one more will o' the wisp. In a scene earlier than the one we have been using, namely at 283 ff., Alcesimarchus, driven to distraction by his love affair, calls out for a servant to bring his military gear and his horse, and to call up troops. This call for arms by the lover is a motif that we know from *Samia* (658–64); but Alcesimarchus, who later plans to commit suicide like Ajax (639 ff.), has it in a highly colourful form, so

that, like Demeas shouting in the *Samia* (364, quoted above), he is thought to be out of his mind. A third person is present. Some editors and critics (not all) think it was Gymnasium (Menander's Pythias). Can it be that she was, and is recalling the scene here?

Fr. 2

]αcτε[  
]προς[  
]γω  
]θυρα[  
5 ]cτοφ[  
]ον  
]ωτις[  
]ετε  
]εγχε[  
10 ]μποτ[  
]. . . . [ .  
] . φοδ[  
]. . . [ .  
]ει[  
15 ] . . [ .

These line-endings have elements which might prove recognizable elsewhere, in spite of much ambiguity; their relation to fr. 1 remains unclear.

1 *ἄcτεω*[c suits, as in the set phrase *ἐξ ἄcτεως*; or (e.g.) *-]αc τε c[oi*.

2 *πρόcω*[ suits.

3 *-]γω* or *-]τω*.

4 Probably *θύραc*; but could be *-αι* or *-αc*.

5 One expects *εἶc* (or *πρόc*) *τὸ φ[ώc*; but the name *Ἀρc]cτοφ[ών* is among the other and unlikelier possibilities.

7 might represent the name *Φιλώτις* (nom. or voc.), known to Comedy as the title of a play by Antiphanes and the name of a *hetaira* in Terence, *Heccyra*, adapted from Apollodorus of Carystus, as well as (possibly) from the comic fragment published as XXXVIII 2828, where (as here) the letters can be articulated and interpreted differently.

9 Part of *ἐγχεώ* would accord with the apparent *cυ]μποτ[* of 10 and the *πίνουca* diagnosed in fr. 1 i 4; but there are other words to consider, apart from *εγχοc* and *εγχεζω*, which would not be expected in New Comedy: for instance *βέγχω*.

10 *]μποτ[*, *μ* with shallow curved final stroke.

12 *] ἐφοδ[ων (-α)* or *] cφοδ[ρα* could be accepted.



## II. MYTHOGRAPHY

## 4306. MYTHOLOGICAL COMPENDIUM

33 4B.86/G(1)+(1)suppl.

fr. I 12.8 × 25 cm

First/second century

This papyrus consists of 27 fragments, the largest of which consists of two, rather damaged, columns which show the remains of lists of (1) people who were the first to sacrifice to certain gods, (2) builders of temples, (3) epithets of goddesses, (4) metamorphoses. The smaller fragments have similar contents: a list of games (fr. 3-9), a list of murderers tried on the Areopagus (fr. 10-11), and some other lists of which the contents are not altogether clear (fr. 2 ii 1-6 may be part of a list of sons of gods and mortal women, cf. perhaps also fr. 13 and 19, and fr. 6 ff. of a list of first inventors; fr. 12 ii may be part of a list of oracles). Most of the smaller fragments are still unplaced, nor is it quite clear in what order the larger fragments should come. The order adopted here is: first the two larger fragments, then the groups of fragments which belong together in certain lists, and then the rest.

Our papyrus shows much similarity with the so-called *Indices* in Hyg. *Fab.* 221-277; cf. esp. *Fab.* 225 (which, in comparison, is rather mutilated) for fr. 1 i 19 ff.; 226-232 (all lost) for fr. 2 ii 1-6; 272 (of which only the title is preserved) for fr. 10-11; 273 for fr. 3-9; 274/277 for fr. 2 ii 6 ff. For details, see the commentary. As to the light 4306 might shed on the problem of the Greek sources of Hyginus, see A. Henrichs in J. N. Bremmer, *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London/Sydney 1987) 272 n. 47: our papyrus 'disproves the theory of a Greek Hyginus, while it reinforces the assumption of one or more Greek sources for the *Indices* in Hyginus'.

We have remains of similar lists in other papyri:

(1) PStrasb. WG 332 (ii AD; ed. J. Schwartz in *Studi ... Calderini-Paribeni* (Milan 1957) II 151-6); part of this text actually overlaps with fr. 5 (but it is also clear that its contents are not identical with those of 4306).

(2) X 1241 (ii AD): lists of librarians and military matters.

(3) PMed. inv. 123 (ii/iii AD; ed. S. Daris, *ASP* 7 (1970) 97-102): a list of the dogs of Actaeon, comparable with Hyg. *Fab.* 181.3 and 5-6.

(4) LIII 3702 (ii/iii AD): lists of Greek leaders against Troy; suitors of Penelope; story of the Danaids; Argonauts (?).

(5) PYale II 108 (ii/iii AD): list of games, comparable with fr. 3-9.

(6) PVindobGr inv. 26727 (ii AD; ed. P. J. Sijpesteijn & K. A. Worp, *CE* 49 (1974) 317-24): mythological families.

(7) 4307 below: list of mothers who killed their children; cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 239.

(8) 4308 below: list of sons of gods and mortal women; cf. Hes. *Th.* 975 ff.; Hyg. *Fab.* 233 (?).

(9) PMilVogl III 126 (iii AD): list of Zeus' mistresses and their sons; cf. L. Salvadori, *RFIC* 113 (1985) 174-81.

(10) LXI 4097 (ii AD): lists of Argonauts etc.

(11) LXI 4098 (iii AD): list of people killed by Heracles.

(12) LXI 4099 (i BC/i AD): lists of epigonoι, Moirai, Charites etc.

Cf. also *TAGP* Taf. II; PHarris 49; PCornell 55; PHaun I 7 col. ii; PBerol 13044; PHib II 186. In known authors we may compare the lists in Arist. fr. 637-44 Rose (from his *Peplos*), Plin. NH VII 191 ff. (list of inventors) etc. Cf. in general Regenbogen in *RE* XX 1466 ff. (s.v. Πύλαξ); Henrichs op. cit. 248 ff. During the Hellenistic age the genre had evidently become very popular.

The papyrus is written in a rounded upright capital of medium size, rather informal and generally bilinear, though φ projects above and below the line and ι, ρ and τ are a little longer. I have assigned it to i/ii AD because of comparable hands in XVIII 2161 (Aeschylus, ii AD) = *GMAW* 24 (more formal and rounded) and PLitLond 6 (*Iliad*, i AD) = Seider II 21, Taf. XI (more irregular). Punctuation is sometimes indicated by blank space, eg. fr. 1 i 6, 13, 19, ii 17, 22. A coronis (and forked paragraphos) in the left-hand margin marks off sections opposite fr. 1 ii 15 ff. (with *ekthesis* of one letter in 18), fr. 2 ii 5 ff. and fr. 17 ii 1 ff.; remains of paragraphos only: fr. 1 i 19, fr. 5 ii 1; paragraphos between items in a list: fr. 3a.4, 9. There are some line fillers (>): fr. 1 i 17, 19, fr. 2 i 2, fr. 5 i 7. Letters are sometimes written *supra lineam*, either as an abbreviation at the end of a line (fr. 1 i 7, 28, ii 24) or—presumably—to indicate a correction or variant reading (fr. 1 i 14 and 26, both with a short line or dot to the left). The column-height was at least 32 lines (cf. fr. 1 i); the width of the lines c. 21 letters.

I am grateful to J. N. Bremmer, A. Henrichs and M. E. van Rossum for advice and suggestions.

Fr. 1 col. i

. . . . . ] . [ . [ . ] . . ] δεεν ] ωι ] ουεν 5 ] κεκροψοδι . . . κλ[ . . . ] cenaθηται . . . ] ειαρκ[ . . ] διοσκαικ λ . . ] ους [ ] αρκαδιαιαιρειεν 10 ] αλιωις θαιπρωτονε ] θυς[ ] γ[ . . ] ροδιτη φ[ . . . ] . . [

]ενκυθηρ . ις αρτεμιδιη  
 ]φε . ιωνπολις ηφαιστωι  
 . . . ]ς . αρισινεπ . κλης  
 15 . . . ]ειουε . αρ . . . ορωδι  
 ]ονυς . καιηρακλεικαδμος  
 . . . ]ηβαις ενιοιδεφασιν >  
 . . . . . ] ακ . . . ]θυσαι . . .  
 ] . ο [ . . . . . ] . οιδε >  
 20 ] πρω [ . . . . . ] εωνιδ . . . [  
 ] σαν [ . . . . . ] διοσολυμπ [ . . ] ον  
 ] πρωτ [ . . . . . ] οδο . ησανπε [ .  
 . . ] αςγοσε [ . . . ] κadiaitonδι [ .  
 . . ] στουλυκαιουονομαζ [ .  
 25 . . ] ενονδευτερονδευκα  
 . . ] ωνθετταλοσενδειωι  
 . . ] σμακε [ . . ] νιαστριτος  
 . . ] ελιασενδ [ . . . ] αιτη [ . . ] ω  
 . . ] ελασγωνχ . ρασηρασφο  
 30 . . ] νε [ . . ] σενπροσυμνηιτης  
 . . ] ειασενσα [ . . ] ωιη . . [ . . ] α  
 . . . ] σαφορων [ . . ] [ . . . . . ] .

## Fr. 1 col. ii

. . . . .  
 . . [ . . . . . ]  
 (2 lines lost)

5 . . . . . ] . . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 . . [ . . ] . ις . ηςπ . . [ . . ] νια [ . . ]  
 λευκοςπαιωνοθενη [ . . ]  
 δοσιχμαινητηνθεονπ [ . . ]  
 αγορευειεντουτοισιχημα [ . . ]

10 θετιδοςκαιαγαστονος . μ [ . . ] [ . . ] . . . [ . . ] θηρα [ . . ] ερεχθειν [ . . ]  
 . . ] ουγλαυκωπ [ . . . . . ] θενγλαυκωπιντη [ . . . . . ]  
 . . . . . ] ρ . [ . . ] λ . [ . . ] ειν . . [ . . ]  
 15 . . ] σδειμονυποκλαγγ [ . . ]  
 γ [ . . . . ] κωπιδοσοβ [ . . ] . π [ . . ]  
 τ [ . . ] σ οιδε . εγονταμμετ [ . . ]  
 λαξαιτηνηθητηνηφ [ . . ]  
 καλλ [ . . ] τουντη . ιυκαον [ . . ]  
 20 αρκ [ . . . . ] θειταιγ [ . . ] . σθαι [ . . ]  
 . . [ . . . . ] ο [ . . ] ωιουρανωιε [ . . ]  
 . τ [ . . . . ] τ . γ . ιουνδετηνι [ . . ]  
 να [ . . ] βουγγενεσθαιοθεν [ . . ]  
 βοο . π . οσεκληθ [ . . ] . οκν [ . . ]  
 25 καιφιλομηλανταςπανδ [ . . ]  
 ονοςμυθειταιγενεσθαιπ . ο [ . . ]  
 κ . ημ [ . . ] . αηδονα [ . . ]  
 μηλανδεχελειδονα [ . . ]

## Fr. 2 col. i

## col. ii

. . . . .  
 ] ην . . [ . . ]  
 ] ων > [ . . ]  
 ] δνα  
 ] θεν  
 5 . . . . . ]  
 . . . . . ]  
 ] ηικο . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 10 . . . . . ]  
 . . . . . ] ρ . [ . . . . . ] [ . . ]  
 . . . . .

. . . . . ] ωνιδος [ . . ]  
 . . ] ερμου [ . . ]  
 πηστης . . . . . [ . . ]  
 . . . . . ] εουστροφ . ν [ . . ]  
 λωνος . ξιοκας . ης [ . . ]  
 [ γινους οιδεπρωτοι [ . . ]  
 . . . . . ] τεδε . ξανα [ . . ]  
 εθνονδετοπρωτο [ . . ]  
 δευτερον [ . . ] . βοαγρια [ . . ]  
 . . . . . ] δρυο [ . . . . . ] να [ . . ]  
 . . . . . ] ρ . [ . . . . . ] [ . . ]  
 . . . . .

Fr. 3 (a+b+c)

Fr. 3a

. . . . .  
 ]τ[  
 ]...[  
 .[.].αλης[  
 5 κ<sup>ο</sup>[.].ν[.]κ[.  
 τ<sup>ε</sup>ρ<sup>ο</sup>σαγων[  
 ..[.]με[.].][.][  
 θη.ενεριχ[.  
 ηφαιστουκ[.  
 εντωιαγων[  
 10 τ<sup>ρ</sup>ιτοσαγων[.  
 κενδαναος[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 3b

. . . . .  
 ]νεθ[.  
 ]αργ[.  
 ]ωντωνθυγατ[  
 ]..ν τεταρτ[  
 5 ]...ο[.  
 ]λειτ[.  
 ]νε[.  
 ]εναιον[  
 (1 line lost?)  
 10 ]..[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 3c

. . . . .  
 ]ω..αμ[  
 ]αυτ[.  
 . . . . .

].....[  
 ]..α.κα[  
 5 ]αια π[  
 ]..νι[.].][.][  
 ]κενακα[.].][.].π[  
 ]ρουστησαλμω[  
 ]σεναδν[.  
 10 ]ο[.].][.].θ[.  
 . . . . .

Fr. 4

. . . . .  
 ].....[  
 ]ρεουδια[  
 ]δαρεω[.  
 ]ηστ[.  
 . . . . .

Fr. 5 (a+b)

Fr. 5a col. i

col. ii

. . . . .	. . . . .
	]...[
	].....η[
]ειδελυ	]...επιπα[
]αικαβελ	ταεντροια[
]υιππω	5 ωσαρματι[
5 ]αρμα	τουδρομον[
]κου	αιαστελαμω[
Fr. 5b ]υρυτ[	]...ε...ιοσπ[
]...μ[	]...ομη[
]ο[	10 ]...τελα[
. . . . .	]...με[
. . . . .	. . . . .

## Fr. 5c

. . . .  
 ] . . . [  
 ] . σε . [  
 ] υ ο ς π . [  
 ] . . π η . . [  
 5 ] λ [  
 . . . .

## Fr. 5d

. . . .  
 ] . μ η δ . [  
 ] σε ε [  
 . . . .

## Fr. 6

. . . .  
 ] . . . ] . ε θ . ω . [  
 ] τ ω ι α θ α μ α ν . [  
 . . . .

## Fr. 7 (a+b)

## Fr. 7a

. . . .  
 ] . . [  
 ] . π [  
 ] ε ι . [  
 ] . α . [  
 5 ] . . [  
 ] α γ ω γ ο ν [  
 ] π ι π ε λ ο . [  
 . . . .

## Fr. 7b

. . . .  
 ] . . [  
 ] α λ κ μ η ρ [  
 ] δ ο [ . ] σ α . ω [  
 ] ε ι ε π α ρ . [  
 . . . .

## Fr. 8

. . . .  
 . [  
 ω ι π π ω . [  
 δ ι ο ς . . . [  
 . . . . . [  
 . . . .

## Fr. 9

. . . .  
 ] . υ δ ι κ [  
 . . . .

## Fr. 10

. . . .  
 ] . . [ . ] . [  
 ] γ τ ο π ρ ω τ ο ν α [  
 ] ε γ α ρ ε ι ω ι π α . [  
 ] σ α ρ ε ι π ρ ο ς . [  
 5 ] . κ τ ε ι ν α . . [  
 . . . .

## Fr. 11

. . . .  
 ] . . . [ . ] . . [  
 ] γ α τ ε ρ α α [  
 ] . ο σ α γ ω . [  
 ] γ α ι σ ε ν . [  
 . . . .

5 ] . . τωι . [   
 ] κτειναν [   
 ] . . . ου . . [   
 ] παλαμο [   
 ] εγενετο [   
 10 ] ρειωπαγ . [   
 ] . . . . . [   
 ] . . ταιμη [   
 ] εως . η . [   
 ] . ωνε [   
 15 ] ων . [   
 ] . . . [

Fr. 12 col. i

col. ii

			μει . [
	] ακ . . [ ] c		] . ολ [
	] . γη [		] . . [ ] ν [
	] . . κα . ο		. . ] η . . [
	] . α . [	5	. . νγε . [
5	] . . [ ] . ερηρα		βαδεια [
	] . ονυσου		μαν . ε [
	] κλησ >		] . π . [
	] . . [		] . [

Fr. 13

] . ιουε [   
 ] . νω [   
 ] ουεντ . [   
 ] . ουτ . [   
 5 ] μιθε . [   
 ] ηλθ . ν [

Fr. 14

. . . . .   
 ] . . αχ . [   
 ] . ντα [ ] δ . . . . . ετυμο [   
 ] . χ . ν [ ] . . . . α . δη [   
 . . . . .

Fr. 15

. . . . .   
 ] . . ναπ . [   
 ] ων [ ] . μα [   
 ] κυ . [ ] . [ ] . [   
 . . . . .

Fr. 16

. . . . .   
 ] . . ιδεα . [   
 ] . κ . [   
 ] διος . . [   
 ] . . . ν [   
 . . . . .

Fr. 17 col. i

col. ii

		. [
] . λη . [		εισ . [
] . . [		ρ . κ . [
] . ντ [		διο . [
	5	] . . [

Fr. 18

. . . . .   
 ] . . [   
 ] . ν . ρ . [   
 ] . ησα [   
 . . . . .



4 ], slightly sloping vertical on edge [ , rounded letter (?) after  $\kappa$ : triangular letter 6 ], triangular letter; foot of vertical with curl to left and specks to right ( $\nu$ ?) [ , top of oblique+speck at bottom and top of vertical ( $\nu$  likely) ] [ , three vertical traces 7 ], vertical [ , bottom and top of rounded letter 8 ], beginning and top of oblique (steep  $\alpha$ ?) 10 ], speck near top of  $\nu$ .

## Fr. 3b

1 ], speck at bottom ( $o$  consistent?) 2 ], rounded letter 4 ], triangular letter; rounded letter 5 ], horizontal top; speck; before  $o$ ,  $\zeta$  might fit [ , vertical trace bending to left at top ( $\nu$ ?) 6 ], speck (end of oblique?) [ , triangular letter 7 ], right part of  $\omega$ ? [ ,  $\gamma$  or  $\pi$  10 ], speck (top of letter, e.g.  $\epsilon$ ); top of vertical or left part of  $\omega$ .

## Fr. 3c

1 ], part of descender [ ,  $\nu$  or  $\rho$ ; foot of vertical 2 ],  $\nu$  or oblique+ $\iota$  [ , speck 3 ], rounded letter; top and foot of vertical ( $\nu$ ?); rounded letter; specks (rounded letter and part of horizontal or rounded top?) 4 ], medial horizontal joining vertical ( $\eta$ ?); rounded letter [ , upright (tiny speck to right may point to  $\rho$ ) 6 ], two rounded letters [ , foot of descender; vertical trace (bending to right) 7 ], speck [ , top of  $o$  or  $\theta$  8 ], top of  $\nu$  9 ], speck (part of vertical?) 10 ],  $\tau$  or  $\gamma$  (right end of horizontal) [ , specks [ , speck (top); horizontal top ( $\tau$  or  $\gamma$  or  $c$ ) [ , high speck.

## Fr. 4

1 ], feet of letters ( $\beta o p \epsilon$  fits exactly) 3 ], rounded letter (left part) 4 ], top left of  $\nu$ .

## Fr. 5a

col. i 1 ], rounded trace at bottom 2 ], vertical 4 ], long vertical leaning backwards, close to  $\nu$  (too close to be an ordinary letter; different colour?) 6 ], oblique?  
col. ii 1 ], vertical trace;  $\epsilon$  or  $c$ ; slightly sloping vertical; below the first letter remains of a small forked paragraph 2 ], feet of letters: rounded base; foot of vertical; two rounded bases; small curl at bottom; vertical; specks (end of oblique?) 3 ], remains of horizontal top; speck at bottom; top of vertical 5 ], bottom of  $o$  or  $\theta$ ; trace consistent with left end of  $\delta$  7 ], slightly sloping vertical trace 8 ], top of vertical and top right of letter:  $\pi \epsilon$  just possible [ , top of triangular letter 9 ], traces on loose projecting fibres (rounded top?; speck [mid-height]; vertical) [ , trace at bottom ( $\delta$  consistent) 10 ], specks (right part of  $c$ ?) 11 ], top left of  $\mu$  or  $\nu$  ( $\nu$  perh. preferable because of spacing).

## Fr. 5b

1 ], rounded trace at bottom [ , rounded letter joined to  $\tau$  2 ], speck on edge [ , rounded trace; vertical [ , rounded letter; top of  $\nu$  fits 3 ], speck at top.

## Fr. 5c

1 ], rounded trace at bottom; slightly sloping vertical; rounded letter 2 ],  $c$  (or  $\epsilon$ ) [ , long vertical ( $\nu$  or  $\kappa$ ) 3 ], vertical+specks to right ( $\nu$  fits) 4 ], right part of  $o$  (?) and specks to left (vertical?) [ , vertical; speck 5 ], triangular letter.

## Fr. 5d

1 ], specks (top of  $o$  fits) [ , vertical with medial horizontal joined to it ( $\eta$  fits).

## Fr. 6

1 ], horizontal trace and speck on displaced fibre, which need not belong here [ , speck at bottom [ , vertical 2 ], vertical.

## Fr. 7a

1 ],  $\iota \delta$  or  $\kappa$  2 ], speck 3 ], specks 4 ],  $\tau$  or  $\gamma$  [ , medial horizontal 5 ], top and foot of  $\rho$  likely; specks (oblique?) 7 ],  $\pi$  or  $\gamma$ .

## Fr. 7b

1 ] [=fr. 7a, 7  $\pi$  3 ], foot of vertical 4 ], high trace, probably consistent with steep top left of  $\chi$ .

## Fr. 8

1 ], speck (beginning of oblique?) 2 ], vertical trace 3 ], horizontal top; speck (part of oblique?) 4 ], indefinite ink on edge of gaps; low horizontal or rounded trace+specks to right; left part of rounded letter.

## Fr. 9

], rounded letter.

## Fr. 10

1 ], bottom of  $o$ ,  $\theta$  or  $\omega$ ; vertical [ , trace at bottom ( $c$  or  $\epsilon$ +part of foot of next letter?) 2 ], specks suggest  $\nu$ +supralinear ink 3 ],  $\gamma$  or  $\pi$  4 ], vertical+horizontal top to right ( $\gamma$ ,  $\pi$  or  $\iota$ .) 5 ], specks (part of oblique) [ , top and foot of vertical; specks (tops of letters) ( $\nu$  fits).

## Fr. 11

1 ], two vertical traces ( $\pi$ ,  $\eta$ ?); vertical with curl at top ( $\rho$ ?); oblique trace [ , two vertical traces 3 ],  $\tau$  or  $\gamma$  [ , vertical trace on edge 4 ], speck (top of letter?) 5 ], speck (top of letter); top of fork of  $\nu$  (?) [ , foot of vertical 7 ], upper parts of letters: two triangular letters ( $\lambda a$  vel sim.); probably  $\mu$  [ , vertical+specks to right ( $\kappa$ ?); top of vertical or steep oblique 10 ], loop of  $\rho$  fits [ , left part of rounded letter 11 ], two rounded letters; bottom of  $\mu$  (?); the merest specks [ , top of vertical 12 ], foot of slightly sloping vertical ( $\lambda$  unlikely); specks (oblique?) (perh. ] $\nu$  instead of ] 13 after  $c$ :  $\tau$  or  $\gamma$  [ , specks 14 ], horizontal top 15 ], vertical+medial horizontal to right of it ( $\eta$  likely) 16 ], triangular letter (?); speck; horizontal top.

## Fr. 12

col. i 1 ], foot of vertical (space points to  $\iota$ ); rounded letter 2 ], triangular letter 3 ], speck (end of oblique?); vertical (space suggests  $\iota$  or  $\rho$ , not  $\nu$ ) [ , vertical trace ( $\iota$  likely) 4 ],  $\mu$  or right part of  $\omega$  [ , speck 5 ], rounded base+specks above ( $\epsilon$  or  $\theta$ ); vertical trace [ , horizontal trace+specks above ( $\kappa$ ?) 6 ], part of vertical 8 ], top of triangular letter (?); specks (top of  $\nu$ ?).

col. ii 1 ],  $\lambda$  or  $\mu$  2 ], end of oblique (or part of  $\kappa$ ) 3 ], puzzling traces (oblique crossed by another oblique, with little curl to left at top:  $\nu$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\chi$  or  $\rho$  might fit); top of  $o$  or  $\theta$  4 ], vertical; beginning of oblique 5 ], foot of slightly sloping vertical; oblique [ , vertical trace on edge 7 ], horizontal top 8 ], specks [ , speck on edge (top of vertical) 9 ], speck.

## Fr. 13

1 ], vertical with curl to right at foot ( $\pi$ ?) 2 ], vertical with curl at bottom ( $\pi$ ?) 4 ], top of vertical [ , rounded letter 5 ], rounded letter 6 ], rounded letter.

## Fr. 14

1 ],  $\gamma$  or  $\tau$ ; then top of rounded letter [ ,  $\epsilon$  or  $\theta$  2 ], speck (mid-height) [ , foot of vertical; curl at bottom+speck to left (mid-height); vertical with curl to left at foot; foot of sloping vertical (+specks at top) 3 ], rounded letter [ , rounded letter [ , right part of rounded top after  $c$ : rounded letter; top of vertical after  $\alpha$ : faint vertical; out of alignment: horizontal+foot of vertical ( $\nu$  or  $\eta$ ?).

Fr. 15

1 ] . . , a, λ or μ; vertical (ι fits space) . . . [, perh. part of top and bottom of steep α or λ  
top of letter (oblique ?) ] . . [, oblique or rounded trace.

Fr. 16

1 ] . . , rounded trace at bottom; rounded letter . . . [, slightly sloping vertical 2 ] . . , rounded  
letter . . . [, triangular letter (α ?) 3 ] δ[ or κ[ 4 ] . . . , horizontal top + vertical trace at right  
(π likely); vertical (?); top of triangular letter.

Fr. 17

col. i 1 ] . . , end of oblique (or ε or c) . . . [, rounded trace on edge 2 ] . . . [, specks and rounded  
trace at bottom; supralinear dot above left part of second letter 3 ] . . , top of triangular letter.  
col. ii 1 in margin before 1-2 traces which may be part of a coronis . . . [, horizontal trace (perh.  
paragraphos) 2 ] . . , speck (top of letter) 3 traces consistent with βακλ[ 4 ] . . , speck (mid-  
height) 5 ] . . [, vertical bending backwards; speck on loose fibre.

Fr. 18

1 ] . . [, two rounded bases 2 ] . . , end of oblique . . . , rounded letter . . . [, part of oblique  
3 ] . . , γ or τ.

Fr. 19

1 ] . . [, foot of vertical . . . [, specks 2 ] . . [, vertical; beginning of oblique (or both traces part  
of κ) 3 speck at mid-height + small oblique trace at bottom.

Fr. 20

1 ] . . , beginning of oblique; speck and slightly rounded trace at mid-height (part of κ ?) . . . [, vertical  
trace 2 ] . . , top of triangular letter (?) π[; or γ + rounded letter . . . [, speck at bottom.

Fr. 21

1 ] . . [, part of rounded letter 2 ] . . , triangular letter . . . [, vertical.

Fr. 22

1 specks (feet of letters) 2 ] . . , end of oblique . . . [, high specks 3 ] . . , vertical bending to  
right at top.

Fr. 23

1 ] . . [, vertical trace; beginning of δ (?) 2 ] . . . , end of ε, c or oblique; ω likely; vertical . . . [,  
four vertical traces 3 ] . . [, rounded trace.

Fr. 24

1 ] . . , rounded trace at bottom . . . [, π or γ 2 ] . . , horizontal joined to ο . . . [, medial horizontal  
joined to left part of rounded letter (?) 3 ] . . , end of oblique . . . [, vertical; specks 4 ] . . , bottom  
of rounded letter.

Fr. 25

1 ] . . , long descender 2 ] . . , vertical bending to right at bottom (μ ?) . . . [, tops of two verticals  
3 ] . . [, speck (top of letter); faint traces 4 ] . . . [, tops of letters: vertical and oblique.

Fr. 26

1 ] . . [, foot of vertical (curled to right) 2 ] . . , triangular letter (α or λ) . . . [, beginning of steep  
oblique 3 ] . . [, top of triangular letter; top of vertical (?).

Fr. 1 col. i

. . . . .  
]. [  
]. [.] . .  
] δεεν  
]. ωι  
5 ] ουεν  
]. Κέκροψ ό δι-  
φυ]ής κλ[. . . ] c έν Αθήναις  
. . . ] .ει Άρκ[ά]ς Διός και Καλ-  
λις] τούς ξ[ν] Άρκαδίαι. Άρει Έν-  
10 ] υαλίωι Κυΰθαι πρώτον Ξ-  
θυσ[α]ν. [Α]φροδίτηι Φο[ίνι] κε[ε]  
έν Κυθήροις. Άρτέμιδι ή Έ-  
φεσίων πόλις. Έφάιστωι  
15 ] Αη] μν[ο]ς. Χάρισιν Έτεροκλής  
Κηφ] {ε}ισού έν αρ. . . ορω. Δι-  
ονύσωι και Έρακλει Κάδμος  
ξ[ν] Θήβαις. Ένοι δέ φασι  
. . . . . Έ]ρακλε[ε] [ι] θύσαι δ. [  
]. ο[. . . . .]. οΐδε  
20 ] πρώ[τοι βωμους θ]εών ΐδρυ-  
σαν. [βωμόν] Διός Όλύμπ[ι]ον  
πρώτο[ν ώικ] οδόμησεν Πε-  
λλ]αγός ξ[ν] Άρ]καδίαι τόν Δι-  
25 ] ός του Λυκαίου όνομαζ[ό-  
μ]ενον, δεύτερον Δευκα-  
λί]ων Θετταλός έν Δ{ε}ίωι  
τ]ής Μακε[δο]νίας, τρίτος  
]. ελιας έν Δ[ω] δώγαι τή[ε] τών  
Π]ελαγών χώρας. Έρας Φο-  
30 ] ρω]νε[ύ]ς έν Προσύμνη τής  
Άρ]γείας, έν Κά[μ]ωι Έρα[ε] . α  
. . . ] ca Φορων . [.] . [.] . . . .



## Fr. 1 col. ii

... [ ]  
(2 lines lost)

5 .....]... [ ]  
[.....]εμ[... ] ξ[ν  
Ἰχ[μ]αίς τῆς Πα[ο]νία[ς]  
λευκὸς Παίων, ὅθεν Ἡ[σί]-  
δος Ἰχμαίην τὴν θεὸν π[ρο]-  
αγορεύει ἐν τούτοις “Ἰχμα[ί]ης  
10 Θέτιδος καὶ ἀγάστονος Ἀμ[-  
φ[ι]τ[ρ]ι[τ]η[...].” Ἀθηνα[... ] Ἐρεχθεὺ[ς]  
... ]ου γλαυκωπ[ ]  
[... ] ὅθεν γλαυκῶπιον τὴν  
θεὸν Ὀμ[η]ρο[ς] λ[... ]ει ἐν τῶ[ύ]-  
15 το[ι]ς “δεινὸν ὑπὸ κλαγγῆ[ς]  
γ[λαυ]κώπιδος ὄβρ[ι]μοπ[ά]-  
τρ[η]ς” οἶδε λέγονται μετ[α]-  
λάξαι τὴν θνητὴν φύ[σιν].  
Καλλ[ι]στοῦν τὴν Δυκάον[ος]  
20 ἄρκ[τον μ]υθεῖται γ[εν]έσθαι [ ]  
[... ]ο[... ] τ[... ] ὠ[... ] οὐρανῶι ε[ ]  
[... ] τ[... ] τ[... ] Ἰοῦν δὲ τὴν Ἰ-  
νάχ[ο]ν βοῦν γενέσθαι, ὅθεν  
Βοῶς Πόρος ἐκλήθη. [Π]ρόκν[η]ν  
25 καὶ Φιλομήλαν τὰς Πανδί-  
ονος μυθεῖται γενέσθαι Πρό-  
κνην μ[ε]ν ἀηδόνα, [Φιλο-  
μήλαν δὲ χελ[ε]ιδόνα[ ]

## Fr. 2 col. ii

... ]ωνιδος[ ]  
[... ] Ἐρμοῦ [ἐκ Πηνελό-

πης τῆς Ἰκαρί[ου]  
... εους· Τροφῶν[ιος Ἀπόλ-  
5 λωνος ἐξ Ἰοκάστης [ ]  
γινους· οἶδε πρῶτοι [ ]  
... ] κατέδειξαν Ἄρ[κάδες]  
ἔθνον δὲ τὸ πρῶτον [ ]  
δεύτερον [δ] ἐβοάγρια [ ]  
10 ... ] δρυο[... ] να[... ]  
... ] ρ[... ] [ ]  
... ]

## Fr. 3 (a+b+c)

... ] τ[ ]  
... ] ... [ ]  
[... ] παλῆς [ ]  
κο[... ] γ[... ] κ[... ] δεύ[-]  
5 τερος ἀγῶν [ ]  
... ] μεν[... ] ... [ ] δν ἔ[-]  
θηκεν Ἐριχθ[ό]νιος  
Ἡφαίστου κ[... ]  
ἐν τῶι ἀγῶν[ι]  
10 τρίτος ἀγῶν [ ] ὃν ἔθη[-  
κεν Δαναὸς [ ] ἐν Ἄργε[ι]  
διὰ [ ] τῶν γάμων τῶν θυγατ[έ]-  
ρω]ν αὐτο[ῦ] ... ] ... ] τέταρτ[ος]  
ἀγ[ῶν] ... ] ἐν Τρα]πεζοῦ[ν]-  
15 τι τ[ῆ]ς Ἄρκα[δίας] ... ] λειτ[... ]  
Λύκ[αια]· π[έ]μπτος ἀγ[ῶν] ε[... ]  
[... ] νι[... ] ... ] εἶναι δν [ ]  
ἔθη]κεν Ἄκα[ς] τ[ος] ὁ Π[ε]λίου  
τοῦ Τ]υροῦς τῆς Καλω[ν]έω[ς]  
20 ]ς Εὐάδνη[ς]  
[... ] ο[... ] ... ] θ[... ]  
... ]

Fr. 4

[Ζήτης]  
 Βορέ[ου δόλιχον Κάλαϊς Βο-  
 ρέου διά[υλον Κάτωρ Τυν-  
 δάρεω ζ[τάδιον Πολυδεύ-  
 κ]ης Τυ[νδάρεω πυγμῆν

Fr. 5 (a+b+c+d)

Col. i

ἀποκτεί]γει δὲ Λύ-  
 κον Θρ]αῖκα Βέλ-  
 λεροφόντης Γλαύκ]ου ἵππῳ  
 5 κέλητι Ἰόλαος ] ἄρμα-  
 τι τελείῳ Ἰφικλος Φυλ]άκου  
 συνωρίδι πωλικῆι ] Εὔρυτο[  
 Ἐρμοῦ τόξῳ Αἰνεύ]ς Ἐρμοῦ  
 σφενδόνη Κέφαλος Δη]ύ[ος  
 δίκκῳ]

Col. ii

]...[  
 ].....η[  
 ]... ἐπὶ Πα[τρόκλῳ  
 5 τα ἐν Τροία[ι Δι]ομήδη[ς Τυδέ-  
 ως ἄρματι Ὀδ]υ[σσεύ]ς [Λαέρ-  
 του δρόμον [Ὀδυ]σσεύ[ς καὶ  
 Αἴας Τελαμῶνος πυ[  
 ....] Ἐ[π]ειὸς Παγοπηι[.  
 ....]. Διομήδ[ης ]λ[

10 .....]. Τελα[μ-  
 .....]με.[

Fr. 6

] ἐν [Ἰ]σθμῳι [ ἐπὶ Μελικέρτη  
 ]τώι Ἀθάμαντ[ος

Fr. 7 (a+b)

]...[  
 ].π[  
 ]ει.[  
 ].α.[  
 5 ]...[  
 ἑβδομος ] ἀγῶν ὄν [  
 ἐ]πὶ Πέλοπ[ι  
 ] Ἀλκμήν[ης  
 ὄγ]δο[ος] ἀγῶ[ν  
 10 ἐν Νεμ]εαί ἐπ' Ἀρχ[εμόρῳι

Fr. 8

. [   
 ω ἵππῳι [   
 Διὸς στᾶ[διον  
 ..... [

Fr. 9

]ου δίκκ[ωι

Fr. 10

. . . . .  
 ] . . [ . . [ .  
 ] ν τὸ πρῶτον α[  
 ] ἐν Ἀρείῳ Πάγ[ωι  
 ] ε Ἀρει προς . [ .  
 5 ] α κτείναντ[-

Fr. 11

. . . . .  
 ] . . [ . . [ .  
 θυ]γατέρα α[  
 ] . ος ἀγων[  
 Ἀθῆ]ναις ἐν Ἀ[ρείῳ Πάγωι  
 5 ] . . τωι . [ .  
 ] κτείναντ[-  
 ] . . ον . . [ .  
 Εὐ]παλάμο[ν  
 ] ἐγένετο [ .  
 10 ἐν Ἀ]ρείῳ Πάγωι  
 ] . . . . . [ .  
 ] . . ταιμη[  
 ] εως . η . [ .  
 ] . ωνξ[  
 15 ] ων . [ .  
 ] . . . [ .

Fr. 12

col. i

col. ii

. . . . .  
 ] α κ . . [ ] ε  
 ] . γ η [ .  
 ] . . κ α . ο  
 ] . . α . [ .

5

μει . [ .  
 ] . ο λ [ .  
 ] . . [ . ] ν [ .  
 . . ] η . α [ .  
 . . ν γ ε . [ .

Λε-]

5 ] . . [ . ] . ε η ρ α                    β α δ ε ι α [-  
 ] Δ ι ο ν ὄ σ ο υ                            μ α ν τ ε [ .  
     ] κ λ η ς >                            ] . π . [ .  
     ] . . [    ] . [ .

Fr. 17 col. i

col. ii

. . . . .  
 ] . λ η . [ .                                    . [ .  
 ] . . [    ε ι ε . [                                    'H-]  
 ] α ν τ [    ρ α κ λ [ ῆ ε  
     διο . [ .  
     5                                    ] . . [ .

Fr. 1 col. i

Fr. 1 col. i 6–19 contains the remains of a list of people who were the first to sacrifice to certain gods (cf. 10 f.). It is not clear whether 1–5 are already part of this list (in 5 ]ουεν would fit the scheme 'son of X in Y').

6 f. Κέκροψ ὁ δι|[φυ]ῆς: cf. e.g. Philochorus *FGH* 328 F 93 Κέκροψ ὁ διφυῆς, Ar. *Pl.* 773, Suidas s.v. δράκωνος (δ 1492 Adler). On Cecrops founding a cult of Zeus in Attica and giving him his name cf. e.g. Philochorus *FGH* 328 F 93 and 97; Paus. 8, 2, 3; Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 10, 9, 22; Eitrem in *RE* 11, 119 ff. (s.v. Κέκροψ); on Cecrops in general U. Krohn, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen*, Berlin 1976, 84–103. Before Κέκροψ we would expect Διί, but this leaves the blank space unexplained.

κλ[ . . ] ε: κλ[ηθεί]ε seems too long for the gap.

8 f. . . ] ε: presumably the name of a god whose cult was first founded by Arcas (so perhaps ερ]μει for 'Ερ]μή). I have not found Arcas as the founder of a cult elsewhere. The words ἐν Ἀρκαδία also suggest something about Hermes.

9 f. Ἄρει Ἐν|υαλίω: cf. e.g. *Il.* 17, 210 f. Ἄρηι| δεῦος Ἐνυάλιος, AR 3, 1366; more in Jessen in *RE* 5, 2651 f. (s.v. Enyalios). On the way in which the Scyths sacrificed to Ares cf. *Hdt.* 4, 62; on their special position in honouring Ares Apollod. *FGH* 244 F 126. See further F. Hartog in M. Detienne–J. P. Vernant, *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec*, Paris 1979, 251–269.

11 Aphrodite's temple in Cythera was the oldest in Greece according to Paus. 3, 23, 1 and as candidates for its foundation we find the Phoenicians (*Hdt.* 1, 105; Paus. 1, 14, 7) or Aeneas (*DH* 1, 50); cf. Dümmler in *RE* 1, 2751 (s.v. Aphrodite).

12 According to Call. *h.* 3, 237 ff. the famous cult of Artemis in Ephesos was founded by the Amazon Hippo; cf. Hepding in *RE* 8, 1720 (s.v. Hippo 3).

14 *Λῆ]μν[ο]ε* is expected and fits exactly. Cf. e.g. *Od.* 8, 283 f.; Friedrich in *RE* 12, 1928 f. (s.v. Lemnos).

14 f. For Eteocles, the son of Cephisus (Paus. 9, 34, 9) as founder of the famous cult of the Charites in Orchomenus see e.g. Theoc. 16, 104 with the scholion ad loc.; Paus. 9, 35, 1; Strabo 9, 414 C. A difficulty is that in 15 another place seems to be mentioned: αρ . . ορω, which however may be a corruption (like επ . κλη in 14), as the letters fit no known Greek place-name. If so, we may emend to Ὀρχομενῶν (αρχεμορω as a corruption perhaps influenced by fr. 7, 10 cannot be read). Cf. in general A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1 (BICS Suppl. 38, 1), London 1981, 140 ff.

16 f. Ἡρακλεῖ: on Heracles especially honoured in Thebes cf. e.g. *Σ Ar. Eq.* 481 Ἴδιος Θεβαίων ὁ θεός (sc. Heracles); see further Gruppe in *RE* Stippl. 3, 935 ff.

17 ff. 'But some say that ... sacrificed to Heracles': apparently an alternative tradition.

19 ff. Blank space followed by *οἷδε* etc. begins a new chapter; cf. col. ii 15; fr. 2 col. ii 6 (where also remains of a coronis can be detected in the left-hand margin). Apparently our author began his chapters with a kind of general heading: 'The following people were the first to ...' *vel sim.*, followed by the actual list. The list of first builders of altars which we have here recalls the list in Hyg. *Fab.* 225 *Qui primi templa deorum constituerunt*. Compared to Hyginus our list differs in two important points: (1) it is more systematic, beginning with three temples of Zeus (muddled in Hyginus; see comm. on 25), (2) details in the information offered are different (e.g. no names of fathers, but more elaborate indications of places in our list).

20 *πρώ[τοι βωμοὺς θεῶν]* nicely fills the gap; *ἱερά* would be too short.

21 *Ὀλύμπ[ιον]*: perhaps a mistake for *Ὀλυμπ[ίου]*.

23 Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 225, 1, *aedem Ioui Olympio primum fecit Pelasgus Triopae filius in Arcadia*. Until now this was the only passage where this was attested; cf. Rose ad loc.; Krischan in *RE* 19, 258 (s.v. Pelasgos).

24 *Λυκαίων*: on the temple of Zeus Lycaeus in Arcadia cf. Schwabl in *RE* Suppl. 15, 1088 f. (s.v. Zeus [Teil II]), who gives further references.

25 *Δευκα[λί]ων*: the current version is that Deucalion, who had been king of Thessaly, went to Athens and there founded the temple of Olympian Zeus. Cf. e.g. *Marmor Parium FGrH* 239 A 4; Paus. 1, 18, 8; Tümpel in *RE* 5, 262 ff. (s.v. Deukalion). But here we seem to have another version: *δειω* (or *δεια*) seems to point to Dium in Macedonia, so *Δειῶν*. For the cult of Zeus Olympius at Dium cf. e.g. DS 17, 16; Schwabl o.c. 1121 f. Deucalion as its founder I have not found elsewhere attested, but something to this effect may be behind the confusion in Hyg. *Fab.* 225, 1 *Thessalus templum quod est in Macedonia Iouis Dodonaei in terra Molossorum*. Schmidt, in his edition, wanted to delete *quod est in Macedonia*, but it is more likely now that something is lost. Perhaps we should read: *Thessalus templum <Iouis in Dio>, quod est in Macedonia, < templum> Iouis Dodonaei in terra Molossorum*. The second part of Hyginus' line then corresponds to our 27 ff.

28 *Ἰελιας*: J. N. Bremmer suggests *Πιελιας* because of the importance of doves in Dodona. No other name seems to fit. In Hyg. *Fab.* 225, 1 the name of the founder of this temple seems to be lost (see on 25).

29 f. Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 225, 2 *Phoroneus Inachi filius templum Argis Iunoni primum fecit*; also Hyg. *Fab.* 143, 3 and perhaps 274, 8 (where Scheffer proposed *aram* for *arma*; cf. M. Kremmer, *De catalogis hewematum*, Diss. Leipzig 1890, 72 f.). On Prosymna as the site of the Heraeum see e.g. Strabo 8, 6, 11 (373 C); on Phoroneus in this context see Schmidt in *RE* XX 645 f. (s.v. Phoroneus).

31 f. As the founders of the Heraeum on Samos we find (1) the Argonauts (Paus. 7, 4, 4) and (2) the Leleges and the nymphs (Athen. 15, 672b). Here we seem to have a single female related to Phoroneus: *α[.]κα Φορων*. [No close relative of Phoroneus seems to fit, but a nymph Larissa is attested as a daughter or mother of Pelasgus, who is a descendant of Phoroneus (cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 145, 1–2; Stählin in *RE* XII 847 s.v. Larisa; Mineur on Call. *h.* 4, 104). The name would fit very well palaeographically.]

Fr. 1 col. ii

In 5–17 some facts about Themis and Athena are told and followed by the conclusion that this is why each is given a certain epithet by Hesiod (?) and Homer. Two quotations are added in order to illustrate this, but both are of a strange and hybrid nature (see comm. on 9 ff. and 15 ff.). Notes on epithets are frequent in Apollod. *Περὶ Θεῶν*; cf. e.g. *FGrH* 244 F 89–96; 111–113 etc.; A. Henrichs, *Cron. Erc.* 5, 1975, 20 ff. Perhaps fr. 14 belongs to the same context (see comm. there).

5 *Ἰεμ[ι]*: some form of *Θέμις*? Though much is uncertain she seems to be the goddess who is dealt with in this passage. Because she is referred to as *τὴν θεὸν* in 8, she must have been mentioned in one of the preceding lines, so perhaps here.

6 *Ἰχ[μ]αίς τῆς Πα[ι]ονίας*: I have not found a town called Ichmae elsewhere, but in view of 8 *Ἰχμαίην* and 9 *Ἰχμαίης* I think we must accept this spelling here. The location of the place in Paeonia and the fact that a goddess derived her epithet from it suggest that the place must be identified with the Macedonian Ichnae, where *Θέμις Ἰχναία* was honoured. Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἰχναί* (342, 17 Meineke): *Ἰχναί, πόλις Μακεδονίας ... τὸ ἔθνηκὸν Ἰχναίος καὶ Ἰχναία ἢ Θέμις*; Hsch. *ι* 1154 Latte; *Σ* Lyc. 129. A Macedonian Ichnae is also mentioned in Hdt. 7, 123, 3; Strabo 9, 5, 14 (435 C) locates town and cult of Themis in Thessalotis. For the alternative spelling cf. *Il.* 13, 71 where *Ἰχματα* is a variant reading for *Ἰχνα* and Hsch. *ι* 1151 Latte *Ἰχματα Ἰχνα*.

7 *λευκὸς Παίων*: here probably the eponymous hero of Paeonia (cf. Paus. 5, 1, 5). It is not clear why he is called *λευκός*.

8 *Ἰχμαίην*: cf. *hAp.* 94 *Ἰχναίη τε Θέμις* (and Allen-Halliday-Sikes ad loc.); Lyc. 129 and the passages

mentioned on 6. The line of thought seems to be: 'white-skinned Pacon <did something to> Themis in Ichmae in Paeonia; therefore Hesiod calls the goddess Ichmaea in the follow line ...'. The explanation seems to be different from those given in *Σ* Lyc. and Steph. Byz. I.c.

9 ff. *ἐν τούτοις* introduces a hexameter attributed to Hesiod. The line is reminiscent of *hAp.* 94 *Ἰχναίη τε Θέμις καὶ ἀγάστονος Ἀμφιτρίτη*, but does not make sense. A possible explanation may be that *Ἰχμαίης Θέμιδος* was quoted from Hesiod and subsequently somehow contaminated with *hAp.* 94, e.g. by 'haplography', because in an earlier version of this note *both* lines were quoted. The change of *Θέμιδος* to *Θέτιδος* may have occurred in a subsequent stage, when somebody wanted to give the line some coherence by making it mention two sea-goddesses (I owe this observation to J. N. Bremmer).

11 ff. In these lines an explanation of Athena's epithet *γλαυκώπις* is given, but the details are still obscure. Explanations of this adjective are also given in Apollod. *FGrH* 244 F 353 (10) and 354 (1)–(2), but they do not include Erechtheus and it is by no means clear what he is said to have done to Athena in our text. Yet, considering that in 5 ff. the explanation of Ichmaea was based on a story including a mythological figure (Pacon) and a place-name (Ichmae), I am inclined to expect a similar approach here. Then the epithet could be derived from the *Γλαυκώπιον* (on the ancient dispute on the nature of the Glaucopium see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 238). Our list would then have followed the way of explaining epithets from place-names, which is rejected by Apollodorus *FGrH* 244 F 353 (10) *πάντ' οὖν (sc. ἐπίθετα) ἀπὸ τῶν παρεπομένων τοῖς θεοῖς. καὶ γὰρ ἡ γλαυκώπις οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ 'ἦ τ' ἀκρησθ' ἢ Ἰνα Γλαυκώπιον Ἰζεῖ'* (Call. fr. 238, 11 Pf.), *ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν πρόροψιν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καταπλήξεως*. Cf. R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* I, Oxford 1968, 261 ff.; Henrichs o.c. 36 n. 164.

14 ff. *λ. [.]εἰ: λέ[γ]ει* would fit. The quotation from 'Homer' is a combination of two epic formulas: cf. *hHom.* 27, 7 f. *λαχεῖ δ' ἐπὶ δάκτυος ἕλη| δεινὸν ὑπὸ κλαγγῆς θηρῶν* and for *γλαυκώπιδος ὀβριμοπάτρης* *Od.* 3, 135; 24, 540. The line is new and makes little sense in itself. It may be one of the so-called Homeric plus-verses, created by a combination of formulas. On this kind of line see S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer*, Köln/Opladen 1967, 13; they may also turn up in quotations: *ibid.* 49 f. and 61.

17 ff. The beginning of a new chapter (cf. on fr. 1 col. i 19 ff.). Its subject is 'metamorphoses', and we have remains of the stories of Callisto, Io and Procne and Philomela.

19 On Callisto cf. e.g. Ps.-Eratosthenes *Catast.* 1 (=Hes. fr. 163); Hyg. *Fab.* 177; Ps.-Apollod. 3, 8, 2 (with Frazer's notes); Henrichs in Bremmer o.c. 254 ff. It is worth noticing that our text is using the Ionic accusatives *Καλλιστοῖν* and *Ἰοῖν* (22).

21 f. These lines seem to refer to Callisto being turned into the constellation *Ἄρκτος*, but it is hard to see how exactly this was phrased. In 22 *τ[.]τ[.]ν* may be *στ[η]ρικ[τῶν]* (cf. *hMerc.* 11 *οὐρανῶν ἐστ[η]ρικτο*; Hyg. *Fab.* 177, 1 ... *quod signum loco non mouetur neque occidit*; see Williams on Call. *h.* 2, 23) or *ἐ[στ]ηρικ[τῶν]*. The latter may be better because of space and 21 ε[.]

22 For Io see e.g. Hyg. *Fab.* 145; Ps.-Apollod. 2, 1, 3.

24 *Βοὸς Πόρος*: for this spelling cf. e.g. Oppian. *Hal.* 1, 167 *Βοὸς Πόρον*; for the sense cf. Ps.-Apollod. 2, 1, 3 *διέβη* (sc. Io) *τὸν τότε μὲν καλούμενον πόρον Θράκιον, νῦν δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνης Βόσπορον*.

24 ff. For Procne and Philomela see e.g. Hyg. *Fab.* 45; Ps.-Apollod. 3, 14, 8.

Fr. 2 col. ii

It is not certain to which categories this piece belongs. 1–6 would fit a series of sons of gods and mortal women. For similar though differently arranged lists cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 226–232 (which are now lost). For the mention of mortal as well as immortal husbands cf. Paus. 10, 6, 1 *καὶ οἱ (sc. Parnassus) πατέρας, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων, Ποσειδῶνά τε θεῶν καὶ Κλεόπομπον ἄνδρα ἐπονομαζουσιν*. On the other hand, if *Κορ[ω]νίδος* in 1 is right, 1–4 recall Hyg. *Fab.* 224, 5 *Asclepius Apollinis et Coronidis filius; Pan Mercurii et Penelopes filius* in a chapter *Qui facti sunt ex mortalibus immortales*, but Trophonius would not fit such a context (on his death see Radke in *RE* 7a, 680 f. [s.v. Trophonius]). Perhaps fr. 13 and 19 also belong to this list (see comm.). 6 ff. are about first inventors, either in general or of religious matters only (for details see comm. ad loc.).

1 *Ἰωνίδος*: the context suggests a genitive, and it is attractive to think of a woman's name in *-ωνος*. So e.g. *Κορ[ω]νίδος* (she and Apollo are attested as parents of Asclepius; her mortal husband was Ischys; cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 202 and 224, 5; Ps.-Apollod. 3, 10, 3 with Frazer ad loc.) or *Φιλ[ω]νίδος* (she and Hermes are attested as parents of Autolycus; cf. Hes. fr. 64, 16 ff. M-W; Hyg. *Fab.* 200).

2 ff. Probably part of a note on Pan as son of Hermes and Penelope, which was a generally accepted

genealogy. Cf. e.g. Σ Theoc. 1, 123 τὸν δὲ Πάνα οἱ μὲν Πηλεόπης καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἢ Ἑρμοῦ; Hdt. 2, 145, 4; Ps.-Apollod. *Eph.* 7, 38; Hyg. *Fab.* 224, 5; Cic. *ND* 3, 22, 56 (with Pease ad loc.); Ph. Borgeaud, *Recherches sur le dieu Pan*, Roma 1979, 84. In 4 . . . εως may be a reference to the regular husband or alternative father (cf. comm. on 6), but we cannot read οἱ δὲ Ὀδυσσεως (for Ὀδυσσεως).

4 f. For Trophonius as a son of Apollo and Iocaste cf. Tzetzes on Ar. *Nu.* 506a Ἐπικάστης καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, κατ' ἄλλους Διὸς καὶ Ἰοκάστης ἢ Ἐργίνου καὶ Ἰοκάστης γίνεται παῖς Τροφώνιος; Philodem. *De Pietate PHerc.* 243 III 27 f. (ed. A. Henrichs, *GRBS* 13, 1972, 86 ff.; W. Luppe, *Gron. Enc.* 14, 1984, 118 ff.). I have not found the combination Apollo and Iocaste elsewhere, but Epicaste and Iocaste probably refer to the same mythological person (both names are also recorded for the wife of Oedipus; cf. e.g. Ps.-Apollod. 3, 5, 7 with Frazer's notes; A. Brelich, *Gli eroi greci*, Roma 1958, 52 f.; Bremmer o.c. 51).

6 γινους: perhaps part of a reference to Erginus; cf. Tzetzes on Ar. *Nu.* 506a (quoted on 4 f.). It may well be that the list included the names of alternative fathers or regular husbands. Cf. also on 2 ff.

6 ff. After γινους there is some blank space, corresponding with a coronis in the left-hand margin, and a new chapter begins (cf. on fr. 1 col. i 19 ff.). The new list may be either a list of first inventors in general or of inventors of various religious practices in particular. In the first case one may supply οἶδε πρώτοι [εὑρεταί·] ἱερὰ κατέδειξαν Ἀρ[κάδες,] ἔθνον δὲ τὸ πρώτον[ . . . ] δεύτερον [δ]ῆ etc. For the chapter-heading cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 274, 7 *Arcades res diuinas primi diis fecerunt*; for the expression Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1, 74, 2 Stählin *Αἰγύπτιοι . . . πρώτον κατέδειξαν*. In the second case οἶδε would have to be the subject of κατέδειξαν, and one would have to supply e.g. Ἀρ[κάδες ἱερὰ (sc. κατέδειξαν)]. This, however, would make 7 rather too long and is less attractive than the first solution.

8 ff. Cf. Σ Lyc. 482 ἄλλοι δὲ φασιν, ὅτι Ἀρκάδες θυσίας θεοῖς κατέδειξαν πρώτον μὲν, δεύτερον ἵππον λευκόν, τρίτον δρυὸς φύλλα, ὅθεν ἢ Πυθῶ \*πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίαι\* βάλανηφόγοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν. Here too we probably have three different kinds of offerings in succession: (1) lost at the end of 8; (2) βοάγρια 'shields of wild bull's hide' (LSJ) (cf. perhaps X 1241 col. v 9 ff. where the invention of leather shields is related to sacrificing cows; cf. W. Burkert, *Homo necans*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1983<sup>2</sup>, 167); (3) something to do with the oak, like the δρυὸς φύλλα in Σ Lyc.: φύ[λ]α δρυὸ[ς] would fit, but there is not enough room for [τρίτον δὲ at the end of 9.

## Fr. 3

Frs. 3–9 contain remains of a list of founders of games and digressions about winners in some of these games. The list is in the same order and—as far as we can see—has the same numbering as similar, but less detailed lists in Arist. fr. 637 Rose (a list of ten games: 1. Eleusinia; 2. Panathenaea; 3. games in Argos; 4. Lycaea; 5. games for Pelias; 6. Isthmia; 7. Olympia; 8. Nemea; 9. games for Patroclus; 10. Pythia) and PYale II 108 (very similar to Arist. fr. 637 nrs. 6–10). It contains the last bit of the first games (presumably the Eleusinia as in Arist.); fragments which correspond to Arist. fr. 637 nrs. 2–9; no remains of his nr. 10 (Pythia). Digressions in the games for Pelias (fr. 3, 15 ff.; 4; 5 col. i) and the funeral games for Patroclus (fr. 5 col. ii) show some similarity to Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 9–11 and 13. The list in Hyg. *Fab.* 273, however, is in a very different order; see in general on this list W. H. Willis, *TAPhA* 72, 1941, 392–417. Fr. 4 and 5 col. i partly overlap with PStrasb. WG 332 col. i 11 ff. (a list of winners in the games for Pelias). For further references to lists of games see S. Stephens on PYale II 108 (intr.). The arrangement of fr. 3–7 in columns must have been as follows: col. A: fr. 3; col. B: fr. 4; 5 col. i; 6 (foot of column); col. C: fr. 7; 5 col. ii. Fr. 8–9 have not been located with certainty.

1 ff. In Arist. fr. 637 the Eleusinia are mentioned as the first games: πρώτα μὲν τὰ Ἐλευσίνια διὰ τὸν καρπὸν τῆς Δήμητρος. It seems likely that they were the first games in our list too, but the scanty remains of 1 ff. do not allow any firm conclusions.

4 ff. Cf. Arist. fr. 637 δεύτερα δὲ τὰ Παναθηναῖα ἐπὶ Ἀστέρι τῷ γίγαντι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίᾳ ἀναιρεθέντι. Erichthonius as founder of the Panathenaea is amply attested; cf. e.g. Ps.-Apollod. 3, 14, 6; *Marmor Parium FGrH* 239 A 10 (with Jacoby ad loc.; Burkert o.c. 154 n. 84; J. D. Mikalson, *AJP* 97, 1976, 141–153). In other versions the Panathenaea are the first games (see Rose on Arist. fr. 637) or founded by Theseus (cf. Ziehen in *RE* 18<sup>2</sup>, 457 [s.v. Panathenaea]). Perhaps δεύ[τερος ἀγών] was followed by a relative clause δὲ ἐ[θ]θηκεν in 6 ff.; cf. 10 f. and PYale II 108, which alternates between ἀγών δὲ ἐθθηκεν and ἀγών ἐτέθη. But in Hyg. *Fab.* 273 the syntax is more varied, and the fragments of our papyrus do not allow firm conclusions on this point. So δεύ[τερος ἀγών]α . . . (6) ἐ[θ]θηκεν Ἐριχθ[όνιος] is also possible (see on 8).

8 On Erichthonius as a son of Hephaestus see Hyg. *Fab.* 166; Ps.-Apollod. 3, 14, 6 (with Frazer's notes); R. Parker, in Bremmer o.c. 194. It is hard to see what could be lost in the gap between 7 Ἐριχθ[όνιος] and

8 Ἠφαίστου: there is room for ca. 5 letters, but there is nothing that we really want here (υἱός might do, but seems superfluous).

κ. [: perhaps κα[ί]. If so, the gap may have contained a reference to his mother (e.g. κα[ί] Ἀθηναίᾳ; cf. Ps.-Apollod. 3, 14, 6) or to some event at these games (cf. 9 ἐν τῷ ἀγών[ι]). In the latter case we may compare *Marmor Parium FGrH* 239 A 10 [ἀφ' οὗ Ἐριχθ[όνιος] Παναθηναίους τοῖς πρώτοις γενομένοις ἄρμα ἔξευξε καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐδείκνυε and supply e.g. κα[ί] τὸ πρώτον] ἐν τῷ ἀγών[ι] ἄρμα ἔξευξε; cf. also Ael. *VH* 3, 38. I think this second solution is more economical. It would imply ἀγών[α . . . ἐ]θθηκεν in 5 ff. in order to avoid anacolouthon.

10 ff. For Danaus cf. Arist. fr. 637 τρίτος δὲ ἐν Ἀργεὶ Δαναὸς ἐθθηκε διὰ τὸν γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ; Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 1 *quinto loco Argis quos fecit Danaus Beli filius filiarum nuptiis cantu, unde hymenaeus dicitur*. In 10 ἀγών may have been followed by an adjective indicating the nature of these games. Cf. either Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 1 *cantu*, which suggests μουσικός, or Ps.-Apollod. 2, 1, 5 Δαναὸς δὲ ὑστερον Ὑπερμνήστραν Ἀνγκεὶ συνώκιε, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς θυγατέρας εἰς γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα τοῖς νικῶσιν ἔδωκεν, which suggests γυμνικός. Both adjectives would fit the space, but γ seems more likely than μ. In 11 Danaus' parentage may have been mentioned: the gap could contain ὁ Βήλου; cf. 18. As to ] . . . υ in 13, I have no idea what this can be and υ may be wrongly read. On the games in Argos see Burkert o.c. 163 + n. 7.

13 ff. Cf. Arist. fr. 637 τέταρτος δὲ ἐν Ἀρκαδίαι τεθείς ὑπὸ Λυκάου, δε ἐκλήθη Λύκαια. In 14 ἐθθηκε would suit, though the traces are scanty, and this fits in with the fact that the founder of the Lycaea is not mentioned. In 15 δε κ]αλεῖται[ι fits space and traces. Cf. M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, Paris 1985.

16 ff. A considerable part of this list is devoted to the games for Pelias and the winners in these games; cf. also fr. 4 and 5 col. i. These games were a popular theme, attested as early as Stesich. fr. 1–3 (*PMGF* 178–180) in a work called Ἄθλα ἐπὶ Πελαίᾳ. Cf. Henrichs, in Bremmer o.c. 252 f.; Fiesel in *RE* 19, 318 ff. (s.v. Pelias). Their popularity may account for the elaborate treatment in our list and in Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 9–11 and for their inclusion in PStrasb. WG 332 (where they do not appear in a list of games, but on their own between other lists). Arist. fr. 637 mentions them only briefly: πέμπτος δὲ ἐν Ἰωλκῶι Ἀκάστου καθηγησαμένου ἐπὶ Πελαίᾳ τῷ πατρί.

18 ff. For the genealogy of Acastus cf. Ps.-Apollod. 1, 9, 7 ff. It seems to be rather elaborate, but that may be in accordance with the importance and extensive treatment of these games here. On Euadne as a daughter of Pelias see DS 4, 53.

## Fr. 4.

This fragment overlaps more or less with PStrasb. WG 332 col. i 11 ff., where some winners in the games for Pelias are mentioned: Κά]ε[τωρ Τυνδάρε]ω[ι] [ετ]άδιον [Κ]άλα[ι]ε Β]ο[ι] [ρ]έο]υ δίαυλον [Π]ολυ[δ]ε[υ]κη[ε] Τυνδ[άρε]ω[ι] [πνυ]μήν. The order in our list is closer to Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 10 *his ludis uicerunt Zetes Aquilonis filius dolichodromo, Calais eiusdem filius diaulo, Castor Iouis filius stadio, Pollux eiusdem filius caestu*, where, however, Castor and Pollux are called sons of Iuppiter, not of Tyndareus. Comparison with Hyg. and PStrasb. suggests that fr. 4 preceded fr. 5 col. i and that the victories of Telamon, Peleus, Heracles and Meleager and the bit about Cygnus may have been lost in between. This could be contained in 5 lines, the last of which could be fr. 5 col. i 1: so 4 lines may be lost between fr. 4 and fr. 5 col. i.

## Fr. 5 col. i

Here the list of winners in the games for Pelias is continued. There is much overlap with PStrasb. WG 332 col. ii 2 ff. and much similarity to Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 11.

2 f. The subject of ἀποκτε[ί]νγει must be Cygnus, the son of Ares; cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 11 *Cygnus Martis filius armis occidit* † *Pilum Diodoti filium*; Paus. 1, 27, 6 τούτων τὸν Κύκνον φασὶν ἄλλους τε φονεῦσαι καὶ Λύκον Θράκια προτεθέντων εἰς μονομαχίαν ἄθλων. Because of the latter passage *Lycum* had been suggested for *Pilum* in Hyg., and this was supported by PStrasb. WG 332 col. ii 2 f. (cf. S. Daris, *Aeg.* 39, 1959, 18 ff.). Our text supports it too. The name of the father is still obscure (Schwartz reads το. Δ. . . τ; some suggestions in Daris o.c. 20 n. 1).

4 Γλαύκ]ου: the father of Bellerophon is not mentioned by Hyg.

5 After Ἰόλαος probably Ἰφίκλου (Ἰφικλέου would be too long). Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 11 *quadrigis autem uicit Iolaus Iphicli filius Glaucum Sisyphi filium, quem equi mordici distraxerunt*. Here Hyg. is more elaborate than both papyrus-texts.

6 f. Iphiclus' victory is left out by Hyg.

7 ff. A separate piece of papyrus, placed here because of the overlap with PStrasb. WG 332 col. ii 8 ff.

[*ωνω*] | *ριδι* | *πωλικημ* [*Εβρυ*] | *τος* [*Ε*] *ριμ[ο]* | *θ* | *τόξωι* [ . . . ] | *νε[ . . . ]* | *Ερμου* [ . . . . . ] | . . . ] | *ε* [ (I have based the supplements *Αιδε*] *ς* [*Ερμου*] *ς* *εφενδόνη* on Schwartz's reports about another fragment of PStrasb. WG 332 col. ii 9–11; cf. Schwartz o.c. 155). Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 11 has *Eurytus Mercurii filius sagittis, Cephalus Deionis filius funda*. After Aeneus the papyrus-lists may have mentioned Cephalus too: (1) PStrasb. could have [*K*] *ε* [*φαλο* in line 11; (2) our text has ] *ον* [ in 9, which is in the right position for *Δη*] *όν* [ *ο*]. The supplements in 9 f. are based on this evidence. On Cephalus as a son of Dion or Dioneus see Frazer on Ps.-Apollod. 3, 14, 3.

Fr. 5 col. ii

In 2 ff. our list deals with the funeral games for Patroclus (2 cannot be read, but the paragraphs may mark the transition). These games are also presented in some detail in Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 13, but less elaborately than in our list (Hyg. refers only to Ajax winning the wrestling match and Menelaus winning with a spear). The names and games of which we have the remains here correspond to those in *Il.* 23, 257 ff., but they are in a different order. Cf. also Ps.-Apollod. *Eph.* 4, 7; Dositheus 43–44 (p. 181 Rose).

3 f. Cf. Arist. fr. 637 *ἔνατος ὁ ἐν Τροίαι δὲν Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ ἐποίησεν*; PYale II 108, 12–15.

4 f. Probably to be read as *Δι*] *ομήδη*] *ς* *Τυδέ*] *]* *ως ἄρματι*. A difficulty is that there does not seem to be room for something like *ἐν ὧι νικᾷ* to have introduced the list of winners.

7 Comparison with *Il.* 23, 700 ff. suggests *πάλην*, but *πυ* [ , i.e. *πυ*] *γμήν*, seems inescapable.

8 f. Probably about Epeius, the son of Panopeus, as winner of the boxing-match, though the name of the game is lost in the lacuna and we seem to have a boxing-match in 7 too. *Παροψη*] [ : instead of the expected *Πανοπέως* we seem to have a patronymic *Παροψη*] *ο* [ *ς*.

9 f. Probably about the sword-fight between Ajax and Diomedes, in which no winner is declared; cf. *Il.* 23, 798 ff.

11 ] *με* [ : if this is part of a proper name there are three possibilities: (1) ] *μεν* [ : cf. *Il.* 23, 850 ff. about Meriones, servant of Idomeneus, who won the archery contest. But there is no room for *Μηριόνης θεράπων* *vel sim.* before ] *με* [ ; (2) ] *μεν* [ : cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 13 *deinde Menelaus uicit iaculo et accepit munerē iaculum aureum*. This is different from *Il.* 23, 885 ff., where Agamemnon and Meriones want to take part in the spear-contest and both get a prize; (3) ] *μεμ* [ : *Ἄγα*] *μέμ*] *νων*, cf. *Il.* 23, 885 ff. As, on the whole, our list seems to be closer to the *Iliad* than Hyg., this seems more likely than (2).

Fr. 6

About the Isthmian games. Cf. Arist. fr. 637 *ἔκτος ὁ ἐν Ἰσθμῳ Κισύφου νομοθετήσαντος ἐπὶ Μελικέρτῃ*; PYale II 108, 1 ff.; Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 8 (nr. 10). It is not clear to whom these games were attributed in our list. PYale and Hyg. both mention two versions of their foundation: (1) for Melicertes, founded by Eratocles (Hyg.); (2) founded by Theseus after killing Sinis (PYale). Cf. Schneider in *RE* 9, 2248 (s.v. Isthmia). There would be room for a digression on this subject in fr. 7, 1–5.

Fr. 7

1 ff. See on fr. 6.

6 ff. About the Olympian games, founded by Heracles. Cf. Arist. fr. 637 *ἕβδομος ὁ Ὀλυμπιακὸς Ἡρακλέους νομοθετήσαντος ἐπὶ Πέλοπι*; PYale II 108, 7–9; Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 5 (nr. 8). Further references in e.g. Frazer on Ps.-Apollod. 2, 7, 2.

9 f. The Nemean games. One could e.g. supply *δγ*] *δφ*] *ο* [ *ἀγὼν δὲν ἔθηκαν ἐν Νεμῳ ἐπ' Ἀρχεμόρωι οἱ ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας*. Cf. Arist. fr. 637 *ὄγδοος ὁ ἐν Νεμῳ, δὲν ἔθηκαν οἱ ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐπὶ Ἀρχεμόρωι*; PYale II 108, 10–12; Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 6 (nr. 9). Further references in G. W. Bond, *Euripides Hysipyle*, Oxford 1963, 147–149; cf. now also the fragments of Callimachus' *Victoria Berenices* in *SH* 254–268, where the foundation by the Seven against Thebes for Archemorus is referred to in *SH* 255, 7 (?) and 266.

Fr. 8

Probably about someone winning a chariot-race; then about some son of Zeus, winning the foot-race.

Fr. 9

Probably about somebody's son winning with a discus. A possible location would be between fr. 4 and 5, where we expect to find *Τελαμών Αἰακῶν δίσκωι*. But if the fragment is from the foot of a column, as it seems to be, this cannot be done, because there is no room for a foot of column between fr. 4 and 5.

Fr. 10

Fr. 10 and 11 contain remains of a list of people tried for murder at the Areopagus. Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 272 *Iudicia parricidarum qui in Areopago causam dixerunt* (which is lost except for its title) and the lists in *Σ E. Or.* 1648 and 1651. The order given in the scholia in Ares—Cephalus—Daedalus—Orestes. In fr. 10, 4 Ares is mentioned, in fr. 11, 8 *Ἐὶ*] *παλάμο*] *υ* points to Daedalus; before and after Daedalus there would be room for Cephalus and Orestes respectively, but the text is indecisive.

2 ff. On the trial of Ares, who had killed Halirrothius, a son of Poseidon, who had raped Ares' daughter Alcippe, see *Σ E. Or.* 1648; Ps.-Apollod. 3, 14, 2 (and Frazer ad loc.); Paus. 1, 21, 4; PUnivGiss IV 42 fr. 2.

Fr. 11

2 *θυ*] *γατέρα*: if it is rightly assumed that the trial of Daedalus begins in 4 and was preceded by the trial of Cephalus, this must be Procris, the daughter of Erechtheus, who was killed by Cephalus. Cf. *Σ E. Or.* 1648; Ps.-Apollod. 3, 15, 1 (with Frazer ad loc.).

3 *ἀγων* [ : some form of *ἀγών* or *ἀγωνίζομαι* would fit the context.

8 Daedalus, the son of Eupalamus, was tried at the Areopagus for killing his sister's son Talos; cf. *Σ E. Or.* 1648; DS 4, 76, 1 ff.; Ps.-Apollod. 3, 15, 8 (more in Frazer ad loc.).

9 *ἐγένετο*: the subject may have been *δίκη*; cf. *Σ E. Or.* 1648 *δίκη... ἐγένετο*.

10 ff. *ἐν* *Ἀ*] *ρείω* *Πάγω*] *ι* seems to indicate the beginning of the next trial, presumably that of Orestes; cf. e.g. *Σ E. Or.* 1648; Ps.-Apollod. *Eph.* 6, 25 etc. In 12 it is tempting to read *κ*] *λυταμνη*] *στρα*, but I think it is palaeographically impossible.

Fr. 12

The contents of col. i are not at all clear: perhaps something about Heracles and Dionysus; cf. fr. 1 col. i 16. In col. ii the only clue is 5 f. *Λε*] *βαδεια* [ , i.e. Lebaeia where the famous oracle of Trophonius was situated (cf. Tzetzes on Ar. *Nu.* 506a; Radke in *RE* 7a, 685 ff. [s.v. Trophonios]). In 7 *μαντε* [ also suggests a context about oracles. Cf. Str. 8, 2, 37 (414 C) *Λεβάδεια δ' ἔστιν, ὅπου Διὸς Τροφονίου μαντεῖον ἴδρυται*.

Fr. 13

An indication of the contents of the latter part of this fragment may be found in 5 ] *μθε* [ , which (if part of one word) suggests some form of *ἡμίθεος*. If so, ] *ηλθ* . *υ* [ in 6 might be *κν*] *ἡλθον* [ and the lines may be the beginning of a section about mixed 'marriages', in which some part is played by half-gods, i.e. as offspring of gods and mortal women; cf. on fr. 2 col. ii.

Fr. 14

Perhaps to be related to fr. 1 col. ii 1–17 because of 2 *ε*] *τμμο* [ , which would fit a section on etymology.

Fr. 15

2 Perhaps ] *ων*] *ό*] *μα*] *κεν* *vel sim.*

Fr. 16

1 Perhaps *οἶδε* introducing a new chapter.  
3 ] *διος* : something about Zeus?

Fr. 17

In col. ii a new chapter seems to begin because there are remains of a coronis in the margin.

Fr. 19

2 If *ω* *α* *κ* [ it is tempting to think of *ω* *Ἀ* *κ*] *ληπιός* and to connect the fragment with the beginning of fr. 2 col. ii (sec comm. on fr. 2 col. ii 1).

M. A. HARDER

#### 4307. MYTHOLOGICAL COMPENDIUM

49 5B.99/D (41–2)a

7.8 × 7.5 cm

Second century

This fragment is part of a list of mothers who killed their children, like Hyg. *Fab.* 239 *Matres quae filios interfecerunt* and more or less in the same order (Medea; Procne;

Ino; Althaea etc.), though some details are different (our list offers less genealogical information, but on the other hand mentions causes of the killing where Hyginus leaves them out). On the 'genre' and the possible relationship between this kind of list and the *Indices* of Hyginus see the introduction to 4306.

The text is written in a medium-sized upright capital, generally bilinear (only η rising high) and often adorned with small serifs. I have assigned the papyrus to ii AD, because the hand is rather similar to that of XXVI 2441 (Pi. *Pae.*, assigned to ii AD) = *GMAW* 22; and PRyl. I 19 (Theopompus *Epit.*, assigned to ii AD), whereas in PPhil. 1 (=Roberts, *GLH* 13a) we have a comparable hand in a document dated in 125 AD.

<p>]. . . [</p> <p>]γανπ . . . [ . . . . . ]δειονος</p> <p>] . τυννη . . . . . [ . ]μη</p> <p>]δειααιητουτους [ . . ]ον . ς</p> <p>5 ]παιδαοργη· ε . . [ . . . . . [</p> <p>]δμουμελικερτηναθ [</p> <p>]μαντοςλυπη· αλθαι<sup>a</sup> [ . . . . . ]</p> <p>]μελεαγρον . . . . [ . . ] [</p> <p>] . . . . [ *</p>	<p>]. . . [ εκτει-</p> <p>ναν Πρόκ[νη Παν]δίονος</p> <p>Ἴτυν Τήρεως . . . . [ . ] Μή-</p> <p>δεια Αιήτου τους [Ἰά]ζονος</p> <p>5 παίδας ὀργῆ· ε . . [ . . . . [ Κά-</p> <p>δμου Μελικέρτην Ἀθά-</p> <p>μαντος λύπη· Ἀλθαία [ Θεστίου</p> <p>Μελέαγρον Οἰνέ[ω]ς [</p> <p>] . . . . [</p>
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1 faint blotted traces (papyrus is warped) 2 . . . [ , top of vertical; rounded trace at bottom; speck  
3 ] . , vertical thickened at bottom . . . . . [ , vertical (ρ fits); two rounded letters (εω fits); rounded letter  
(?); rounded letter; vertical thickened at top and bottom (ρ ?); indefinite traces (οργη[ε cannot be excluded])  
4 ] . , rounded letter ν , rounded letter 5 . . [ , specks (many of them on warped fibres) ] . . . [ ,  
specks 6 [ , triangular letter 7 above [ a small α [ , small triangular trace, looking most  
like upper part of ο (too small for α, wrong shape for θ) ] . , supralinear oblique trace 8 . . . . [ ,  
part of rounded top; top of vertical; top of vertical (e.g. right part of ν); rounded top ] . [ , specks on  
dangling fibre 9 ] . . . [ , top (rounded ?); oblique; vertical; oblique joined to vertical + speck to right  
(perh. ν)

2 f. Procne is also mentioned in the lists in Hyg. *Fab.* 239 and 255 (*Quae impiae fuerunt*), both times without indication of the reason why she killed Itys. We may assume that the papyrus said something about anger or revenge, and in fact ὀργῆ[ ] might fit the traces after Τήρεως.

5 ὀργῆ: no reason is given in Hyg. *Fab.* 239. At the end of the line we expect Ἰνώ Κά-, but the traces do not allow us to place the beginning of the name with any certainty. ε suggests the beginning of a verb, like εκτει[ναν in 1 f., but it seems rather superfluous and nothing can be read after ε.

7 λύπη: Hyg. *Fab.* 239 is different: *dum eum (sc. Athamantem) fugit.*

7 f. The reason why Althaea killed Meleager is mentioned at length in Hyg. *Fab.* 239: *quod is (sc. Meleager) auunculos suos occiderat.* Perhaps our list had again ὀργῆ at the end of 8.

## 4308. MYTHOLOGICAL COMPENDIUM

70/41(f)

5.5 × 7.4 cm

Second century (?)

This fragment is part of a list of children of goddesses and mortal men. Only part of the children's names is preserved and once the father's name (3 *Χρυσάορος*), but it is clear that this is the same list as Hes. *Th.* 975–1018. Hence the extensive supplements. For similar lists cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 233 *Quae immortales cum mortalibus concubuerunt* (lost); Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2, 33, 8–9; Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* 4, 27. On Hesiod being used as a source for this kind of list see J. Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodica*, Leiden 1960, 281 ff.; W. Luppe, *Cron. Erc.* 14 (1984) 109–124; M. L. West, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 1–7.

The writing is rather cursive, with a number of ligatures (e.g. of αι, αρ, γα, ει, ci) and I have not been able to find a parallel among literary hands. Somewhat comparable, though more cursive, is Seider, *Pal. gr. Pap.* I 30 (a document dated in 114 AD). I have therefore tentatively dated the papyrus in ii AD.

<p>. . . . .</p> <p>] . . . . . [</p> <p>] .</p> <p>]αιχρυσαροσγηρυνονε[</p> <p>]ωνκαιημαθιων</p> <p>5 ]ν</p> <p>]δειος</p> <p>]κος</p> <p>]λευς</p> <p>] . . . . ειας</p> <p>10 ] . . . αιλατεινος</p> <p>]γανσιθοσκαιναυς[</p>	<p>Ἀρμονία καὶ Κάδμος Ἰνώ C]εμέλην Ἀγαύην</p> <p>Ἀυτονόην Πολύδωρο]ν·</p> <p>ἐγένοντο Καλλιρόης κ]αὶ Χρυσάορος Γηρυνονε[ύς·</p> <p>Ἴηος καὶ Τιθωνοῦ Μέ]μνων καὶ Ἡμαθίων·</p> <p>Ἴηος καὶ Κεφάλου Φαέθω]ν·</p> <p>Μηδείας καὶ Ἰάκονος Μή]δειος·</p> <p>Ψαμάθης καὶ Αἰακοῦ Φώ]κος·</p> <p>Θέτιδος καὶ Πηλέως Ἀχι]λλεύς·</p> <p>Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἀγχίρου Α]ἰνείας·</p> <p>Κίρκης καὶ Ὀδυσσεως Ἀγριο]ς καὶ Λατεῖνος·</p> <p>Καλυψοῦς καὶ Ὀδυσσεως] Ναυσίθοος καὶ Ναυε[ἰνοος</p>
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1 ] . . , traces on loose fibre (both slightly rounded parts of bottoms of letters) and a few specks . . . [ ,  
feet of two verticals 2 ] . , faint trace on edge 4 ] . , triangular letter or right part of μ 8 ] . ,  
blotted trace on edge 9 ] . . , tops of three verticals 10 ] . . , traces at bottom

1 Presumably the list began with Demeter and Iasius as parents of Plutus, as in Hes. *Th.* 969–974.

3 ἐγένοντο: this supplement is suggested by space and syntax, as from now on the children are in the nominative and the one preserved parent in the genitive (space does not seem to accommodate εκ + genitive, on which see KG I 374). The papyrus writes the father's name as χρυσαρος.

10 Our list probably contained Agrius and Latinus, who are mentioned as sons of Circe and Odysseus in Hes. *Th.* 1013. It seems to be based on a text which did not contain 1014 (left out by some manuscripts and testimonia; cf. Solmsen's apparatus).

## 4309. PROSE

5 1B.44/F(a)+53/K

Fr. I 7.4 × 16.7 cm

Third century

This papyrus consists of 16 fragments, of which fr. 1 is the largest. A lower margin of 4.6 cm is preserved in fr. 1 (but it is stripped for ca. 5 mm below fr. 1 col. ii 16, so that there may have been another line of writing there); an upper margin of 3.6 cm is preserved in fr. 5. The intercolumnar space is ca. 1.3 cm and the lines are ca. 21 letters wide. In the upper margin of fr. 5 we find NC, which seems to indicate the number of the column in the roll. For this kind of number cf. e.g. PSI XII 1284 recto (hist.; ii AD): col. 82 of a roll with columns of ca. 16 letters; III 412 (Jul. Afr. *κεστοί*; iii AD): col. 35 and 36 of a roll with columns of ca. 36 letters. For more examples see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 16. The back is blank.

The papyrus is written in medium-sized capitals with a tendency to lean slightly to the right. The writing is roughly bilinear, but  $\phi$  (and presumably  $\psi$ ; cf. fr. 17.3) and sometimes  $\iota$  project below and above the line. The  $o$  is very small. The hand is informal, with some tendency to write letters in one movement (cf.  $\alpha$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\upsilon$  and  $\tau$ ) and to cursive forms (cf.  $\mu$  with deep saddle and  $\xi$ ). The  $\phi$  and  $\iota$  are sometimes adorned with a small serif. The  $\tau$  is sometimes joined to  $o$  or  $\omega$ . There are no lectional signs or punctuation.

We may compare VI 856 (a hypomnema on Ar. *Ach.*, assigned to iii AD = *GMAW* 73) and LII 3652 (a hypothesis of Euripides, early iii AD). This would suggest iii AD as a date for our papyrus.

The contents of this papyrus are still a matter of conjecture. We know more or less what it is about, but we do not know what it really says or what it is. It deals with Thessaly and Antiphos and Pheidippos, whose offspring colonized Thessaly and gave it its name. There are a few clues as to what kind of text it might be:

(1) there are a number of links with the *Catalogue of Ships* in *Il.* 2 (especially *Il.* 2, 677 ff. and 749 f.) and the contents recall Strabo 9, 444 C, where Strabo says after a passage about eponymous heroes and names of Thessaly *τινὲς δὲ (sc. φασὶ) ἀπὸ Ἐφύρας τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ἀπογόνους Ἀντίφου καὶ Φειδίππου, τῶν Θετταλοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἐπελθόντας ἀπὸ Θετταλοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν προγόνου τὴν χώραν ὀνομάσαι*. This is probably based on the same passage in Apollodorus' treatise on the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* from which also Apollod. *Περὶ Νεῶν* *FGrH* 244 F 164 is derived. As is suggested by this fragment Apollodorus probably dealt yet more elaborately with these matters (cf. also Jacoby ad loc.);

(2) the text contains a great number of quotations of and references to prose authors and poets (see e.g. fr. 2.21 ff.; 9.3 ff.), none of whom can be dated later than iv/iii BC (considering the size and state of the papyrus this may be accidental), unless Didymus was referred to in fr. 1 col. i 15 f. It clearly was a learned work, perhaps from the Hellenistic period;

(3) it is suggested by several passages that this was not an anonymous compilation of material, but written by a well-defined author who was critically reflecting on his own sources and referring backward and forward in his own work (see on fr. 3.6 ff.; 7.5 ff. and 11.2 f.).

The possible connection with Apollodorus, the restriction to early scholarship and the suggestion of a specific author make it tempting to think of Apollod. *Περὶ Νεῶν*, a learned monograph on the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* in 12 books (cf. Schwartz in *RE* I, 2863–71 s.v. Apollodorus 61; R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* I, Oxford 1968, 259; Jacoby in *FGrH* 2 D p. 795), or of a work in which Apollodorus was paraphrased, excerpted or used as a source. In the latter case one may think of a historical/geographical work in which Thessaly was discussed or another learned commentary on the *Iliad*: such works, like e.g. Strabo or Epaphroditus of Chaeronea's *ὑπομνήματα εἰς Ὅμηρον*, may contain many elements from Apollodorus, but the connection need not be very close. For a list of works on Thessaly see Stählin-Hiller von Gaertringen-Lippold in *RE* VIA 85 ff. (s.v. Thessalia).

The order in which the fragments are printed is based on their size, as no certainty could be reached about their actual order. Computer searches of the *TLG* did not lead to the identification of any of the fragments with known prose or poetry.

I wish to thank S. L. Radt for his comments on an earlier version of this edition.

Fr. 1	col. i	col. ii
	[. ε. [	
	] ων [	
	] . c. [	
	] . a [	
5	] . a [	
	] . . ε [	
	] . [	
	] . τιο . [	
	] . κσ . . . . . ] ν	
10	] . [ . ] ε . ν . . . . . και	
	] . . . . . ιοςφειδιππον	
	] . ογκοσμητορα	
	] . ιενη . αθεαι . .	5
	] οσιππ . . . . . μας	
		] . . [
		εκφ . c . [
		ομενγ . [
		καιτασαιτιας . . [
		ασαπελ [
		. ειδιεν . [



15	]μοσενταισα .	αδελφο . [
	] . ιαισετειμεν	χρησμ . [
	]ειδιππον	ταςπολλ[
	] . ροιασπλε	10 τωνομα[
	]εφυρατρι	αριστοτ . [
20	]γκαιωνας	νουσοιε[
	]αλιαν	πλουντο[
	] . ομε	δοσδιοτ[
	] . ς	15 νησδυνα[
	] . . . . .	τευμενο[

## Fr. 2

	] . . [
	] . . . . [
	] . . . δ . . . [
	] . α . . . [
5	]υποροιωνγλ[
	] . [ . . . ] . αμα . ητ[
	] . . ς . [ . ] . . . . [ . ] ε . . [
	]ετισα . . . [
	] . ιατεπα . [
10	]τοπεριδ . . [
	]υκασαντο . ν . . . . [
	] . . . νπατ . [ . ] . δει[
	]μουφθιενουδεδω[
	]παραιγιμιω[
15	]ωταδ . [ . ] . . [
	]νυπερ[
	]ρωποισιλ[
	]δοσδιδου[
	] . . θεοφιλε . [

20	] . . . . τον[
	] . . . . αδδευδ[
	] . . . λητορος[
	] . α . . . κιοπαι[
	] . . [ . ] . ιχμον[
25	] . λ . [ . ] . εστι[
	]αιγ . παν . . . . [
	] . . . [ . ] . ασιλε . [
	] . . [ . ] . ν . . [
	] . . . [
30	] . . [

## Fr. 3

	] . [
	]υπρ[
	]θιγγαν[
	]γωνμη . [
5	επ . ετελε . [
	π . [ . ] ξεναγορ[
	κατατηνκω . [
	ανκαιδαμαστ[
	σιωσπερτηστ . [
10	στρατειασεπα[
	τεςκαιοτιουτοςκα[
	τηνπατριδακαι[
	τωναντιφοσοντροπ[
	σινφ'κανοιτωνκατα[
15	ειρημενωνουχο[ ] . ιδ . . [
	] . . . υσινπεριπαντ . [
	] . . . . . [

Fr. 4

col. i

col. ii

]ν.[.].[  
 ]..ας[  
 ]τουδι.[  
 ]..σπρ.[  
 5 ]..[.....].ες[  
 ]πειντατε[.....]αιοτ[  
 ]..λ[.]σπαρα βων ην[  
 ]..[.]οτω ..[.]μονι ..[  
 ]..ς ευρενα νπα ..α ..[  
 10 ]..[.]φ.[.].[.]ππ ..ρ.[.].....[  
 ]αν[.]πολ[.]...ν υδο[  
 ]..οναν[.]ξιμενηγεν  
 ]..κυπριακοιστ ..[.]...[  
 ]δελφοναν ..[.]...[  
 15 ]τογενο[.....]...δι  
 ]..[.]πολ[.....]ε  
 ]..κεν[.]ων  
 ]..ε..λιωκα[

Fr. 5

NΣ

τησμεταβασεωστη[  
 θεσσαλιανονκαιαν[  
 μιζεινε γονταπα[  
 ]ζειναιπ ριεκεινο[  
 5 ]ρονονκαιδιαταυτα[  
 ]ανυπολε ..[.]...[  
 ]ντιονδ[  
 ]ητουκα[  
 ]ερος[

Fr. 6

]..[.]...[  
 ]..ς...[  
 ]ωμει.[  
 ]αποθ[  
 5 ]...[.]α.[  
 ]..με ο[.]π[  
 ]εκαταμα[  
 ]...νεχιρω[  
 ]...[.]ειδ...[  
 10 ]..ε...[.]ο υκ[  
 ]..δ..να ειδα[  
 ]..λαυτι...εικ[  
 ]...αγαλ[  
 ]..ολεμουφυλο[

Fr. 7

]..[  
 ]λα ..[  
 ]πα ..[  
 ]ραν ..[  
 5 ]ιστορ[.....][  
 ]υστε ον[  
 ]απ ιρως[  
 ]τωσιλι ..[  
 ]κλεο ν[  
 10 ]φυγα[.]...[  
 ]μ οντε[  
 ]να[.]...ν[  
 ]αλλ[  
 ]μυρ[  
 15 ]..ε[

## Fr. 8

]...[  
 ]θε...[  
 ]...ιχ[  
 ]τη...αδ[  
 5 ]δεν.ε...[.].ε.ειο[  
 ]α.απε.[  
 ]...εαι...[  
 ]δ...π.[  
 ]...[  
 10 ]...αη...[  
 ]δυ.χε.[  
 ]...εα...[

## Fr. 9

]...π...[.].[  
 ]...κου.[  
 ]...μν.γ[  
 ]...κλη.εν[  
 5 ]ερραιβ...[.].[.].ρις...α[  
 ]νιφοεντο[.].[.].ου...[  
 ]θανανδρωε...τοις[  
 ]ουραγιστ[ ]εν...[  
 ]ο...[.].[.].[.].[  
 10 ]...[  
 ]ερ[

## Fr. 10

]...[  
 ]λεουσκ[  
 ]εγαμενο[  
 ]...νχαλκ[

5 ]...τονε.[  
 ]τουδηβ[  
 ]γεγοντο.[  
 ]οσαιατιοσου[  
 ]...αγενες[  
 10 ]δαντοιειν[  
 ]ταιοσομιλη[  
 ]τουτωνθε[  
 ]...εμν[  
 ]...πποσκαια[  
 15 ]...[  
 ]...[  
 ]...[

## Fr. 11

]...ε...[  
 ]ειρη[.]μεν[  
 ]εβυβλου[  
 ]λακεδαι[  
 5 ]σαδηρα[  
 ]γων[  
 ]πυ[  
 ]λε[

## Fr. 12

]...[  
 ]...ε...[  
 ]...τερα...[  
 ]...υγαιθων...[

5 ]αμφοτερ[  
 ] αιχαλκ[  
 ] φησι[  
 ] οπητ[  
 ] ιορθε[  
 10 ] . [

## Fr. 13

]. καιοα[  
 ] . . . . . [  
 ] . . . . . [  
 ] . κாம . . θ . [

## Fr. 14

]. [ .  
 ] αξει[  
 ] ενο[  
 ] . α . [  
 5 ] . [  
 ] η[  
 ] . [

## Fr. 15

]. [ .  
 ] τεε[ .  
 ] . ω[ . ] . τ[

## Fr. 16

τ[

## Fr. 1 col. i

1 . [ , vertical descending below the line (ι likely) 3 ] . , faint traces (ε would fit) . [ , top of α, δ or λ (very faint) 4 ] . , perh. right part of ω or ν 5 ] . , vertical 6 ] . , top right of letter; α, δ or λ 7 ] . [ , top of vertical 8 ] . , end of oblique . [ , rounded base 9 ] . , end of rising oblique (ν would fit) . [ , triangular letter; trace on edge (rounded letter conceivable) 10 ] . [ , speck at bottom . ν . , specks (foot + top of long central vertical?); after ν: specks, probably part of vertical; end of oblique 11 ] . . . . . , traces mostly on twisted loose fibre 12 ] . , foot of long vertical (ι or ρ possible; space slightly favours ι) 13 ] . , indefinite traces on displaced papyrus (α conceivable) . , ι, γ or ρ . . . , medial horizontal + sloping vertical (η fits); middle part of η fits 14 . . . . , rounded letter or ι with serif at bottom; top of triangular letter or ν; specks (ν or η compatible) 15 . , specks; then a long horizontal stroke level with tops of letters (either a letter + an abbreviation or a letter [τ?] with extended horizontal stroke, like α in fr. 1 col. i 12 or ε in fr. 1 col. i 22) 16 ] . , small horizontal or rounded trace at mid-height 18 ] . , end of horizontal top 22 ] . , end of horizontal top joined to ο 25 ] . , probably right part of top of fork of ν.

## Fr. 1 col. ii

1 ] . [ , foot of sloping vertical; rounded trace at bottom 2 . , small vertical trace on edge of gap . [ , triangular letter 3 . [ , top of triangular letter (?) 4 . [ , foot of vertical hooked to right; trace only 6 . , vertical (γ or ρ fits) . [ , large rounded letter (e.g. ε) 7 . [ , upright thickening at top (e.g. ν) 8 . [ , rounded letter 11 . [ , part of rounded letter + specks above and below it 14 δοc: ο with anomalous flat top.

## Fr. 2

1 ] . [ , rounded base; low speck 2 ] . . . . [ , speck on edge; χ likely; vertical; triangular letter 3 ] . . . , speck; thick vertical trace; right part of δ (?) . . . . [ , vertical; speck; sloping vertical thickened at mid-height 4 ] . , α likely . . . . [ , rounded letter; blotted rounded trace; forked trace (ν or two obliques joining each other?) 6 ] . [ , τ or π likely ] . , δ or λ . . . , first, rounded letter; ο or ρ 7 ] . . , triangular letter; specks . [ , horizontal top ] . . . . [ , part of horizontal top; τ likely; faint traces; small loop (α?) . [ , rounded letter; vague trace (perh. rounded) 8 . . . . [ , foot of vertical + thin horizontal trace (τ or γ?); medial horizontal joined to vertical at left (ε or η?); traces suggest δ 9 ] . , α more likely than λ . [ , indefinite trace 10 . [ , faint traces (perhaps ο or ρ); then triangular letter or χ or κ) 11 . . . , big rounded letter; vertical trace + horizontal top . . . . [ , indefinite, blotted traces 12 ] . . . . , rounded top; faint traces; faint rounded trace . [ , faint rounded trace ] . . , flat or rounded base + slightly rounded trace above (ο or c would fit); faint rounded trace (perhaps top of triangular letter) 13 below the first ν a rounded trace on a loose piece of papyrus, which does not belong here 15 before ω: speck on displaced papyrus; there is some ink on the back of this piece (not clear whether it belongs here) . [ , lower part of ε likely ] . . [ , π likely; high hooked trace (top of ρ?) 19 ] . . , foot of vertical; top of rounded letter (?) . [ , rounded letter 20 ] . . . . , the merest traces 21 ] . . . . , slightly sloping medial horizontal; rounded trace at bottom; beginning of oblique or sloping vertical; vague trace (κ not excluded) 22 ] . . . , ε likely; specks; triangular letter 23 ] . , small loop (ρ?) . . . . , long oblique suggests χ; triangular letter; end of oblique 24 ] . [ , μ likely; specks ] . , triangular letter 25 ] . . , rounded base; end of oblique (+ bit of loop of α?) . [ , rounded letter ] . , speck (bottom right) 26 . . . , blot shaped like top of α; top of c? . . . . [ , triangular letter; the merest traces 27 ] . . [ , faint traces at bottom; horizontal base (δ likely); indefinite ink . [ , high speck (top of ι fits) 28 ] . [ , rounded letter (ο?); slightly sloping vertical or left side of rounded letter with ink above ] . , small loop (ο or ρ) . [ , horizontal top with ink below (π likely); top of long vertical 29 ] . . [ , horizontal + rounded trace below (ε or θ possible); vague vertical; indefinite traces 30 ] . [ , specks.

## Fr. 3

1 . . . [ , speck at bottom 4 . . . [ , bottom left part of  $\delta$  or  $\alpha$  5 . . . [ , speck (top of letter);  $\pi$  or  $\tau$   
 . . . [ , foot of vertical on edge 6 . . . [ , top left of letter ( $\epsilon$  likely) 7 . . . [ , vertical 9 . . . [ , small  
 rounded trace ( $o$  ligatured to  $\tau$  likely) 15 . . . [ , triangular letter . . . [ , foot of vertical; horizontal base  
 ( $\delta$  likely) 16 . . . [ , horizontal top + ink below on loose fibre; top of small loop ( $o$  or  $\rho$ ); specks on both  
 sides of gap ( $o$  fits) . . . [ , rounded letter ligatured to  $\tau$  (size points to  $o$  rather than  $\omega$ ) 17 . . . [ ,  
 top of vertical; rounded top (?) + some ink below it on displaced papyrus; horizontal top; top of  $\alpha$ ,  $\delta$  or  $\lambda$ ;  
 small loop ( $\rho$  or  $o$ ); specks, partly on loose fibre.

## Fr. 4 col. i

1 . . . [ , specks 2 . . . [ , foot of vertical 3 . . . [ , hooked trace on edge;  $\pi$  or  $\tau$  likely 4 . . . [ ,  
 rounded letter or  $\phi$  . . . [ , specks at mid-height and bottom . . . [ , small loop ( $\alpha$  or  $o$ ) 5 . . . [ ,  
 part of vertical + specks to right . . . [ , triangular letter ( $\lambda$  likely) . . . [ , horizontal top 6 . . . [ , horizontal  
 at bottom 7 . . . [ , rounded letter; triangular letter ( $\alpha$  or  $\delta$ ) . . . [ , beginning of oblique; vague traces at  
 bottom (fitting  $\alpha$ ) . . . [ , faint vertical ink on edge of gap; the next letters are on a loose piece of papyrus  
 and out of alignment (and not necessarily part of this line) 8 . . . [ , rounded base or end of oblique + ink  
 to left (e.g.  $\alpha$  or  $\omega$ ); faint trace (triangular letter or  $\nu$ ) . . . [ , top and foot of vertical (long  $\epsilon$  ?); perh.  $\chi$  (part  
 of base and top left) . . . [ ,  $\alpha$  or  $o$ ; rounded or oblique trace 9 . . . [ , end of oblique . . . [ , speck at  
 bottom + end of oblique (triangular letter) . . . [ , foot of vertical; slightly rounded base ( $\epsilon$  ?) . . . [ , top of  
 vertical; specks ( $\iota$  or  $\nu$ ) . . . [ , specks and rounded trace on loose fibres 10 . . . [ , horizontal top  
 with specks below; top of high, sloping vertical (or part of supralinear letter) + ink to left . . . [ ,  $\theta$  or  $\epsilon$  . . . [ ,  
 oblique trace sloping down to right; after this room for a narrow letter before  $\pi$  . . . [ , speck; speck (top right  
 of e.g.  $c$ ) . . . [ , medial horizontal; specks; medial horizontal + speck above ( $\epsilon$  ?); blotted traces (partly  
 on displaced papyrus) 11 . . . [ , triangular letter; triangular letter (between these two letters high  
 supralinear dot ?); speck . . . [ , specks at bottom (rounded letter ?) . . . [ , trace at mid-height on edge  
 12 . . . [ , right end of horizontal or rounded top 13 . . . [ , specks on edge (vertical ?); rounded letter  
 . . . [ ,  $\tau$  or  $\pi$ ; rounded letter . . . [ , horizontal top; specks; top of vertical 14 . . . [ , left end of horizontal  
 top . . . [ , vertical + low horizontal ink to left . . . [ , horizontal top + vertical joined at right; vertical  
 trace; speck 15 . . . [ , vertical + ink to the left; right part of rounded letter . . . [ , speck; foot of  
 vertical + medial horizontal ( $\eta$  ?) 16 . . . [ , top of vertical (above it some sloping horizontal ink); speck  
 17 . . . [ , end of horizontal or rising oblique and perhaps some ink below it . . . [ , top of vertical 18 . . . [ ,  
 right end of horizontal or rounded top + top of vertical ( $\nu$  fits).

## Fr. 4 col. ii

15 . . . [ , horizontal trace at bottom.

## Fr. 5

2 . . . [ , left part of horizontal top ( $\tau$  or  $\pi$ ) 3 . . . [ , rounded letter ( $o$  likely) 4 . . . [ , specks fit  $\epsilon$   
 6 . . . [ , speck at bottom (beginning of oblique or sloping vertical) . . . [ , specks 9 . . . [ , high speck.

## Fr. 6

1 . . . [ , small loop ( $o$  or  $\rho$ ) . . . [ , indefinite trace at bottom; rounded trace at bottom 2 . . . [ ,  
 two rounded traces at bottom . . . [ , vertical; faint rounded trace; indefinite traces 3 . . . [ , left part  
 of  $\chi$  or  $\lambda$  5 . . . [ , vague trace (rounded letter ?); speck; oblique . . . [ , faint trace on edge (triangular  
 ?) 6 . . . [ , rounded letter or  $\rho$  . . . [ , faint traces at bottom (perh. part of  $\nu$ ) . . . [ ,  $\epsilon$  likely 8 . . . [ ,  
 indefinite traces; rounded letter (?); specks on edge of gap; horizontal top . . . [ , foot of sloping vertical + ink  
 to right 9 . . . [ , beginning of oblique; sloping vertical; small loop + blotted traces to left and right;  
 vertical + specks on displaced papyrus (which may not belong here) . . . [ , end of oblique; top of vertical  
 . . . [ , faint indefinite traces; right part of  $\theta$  (?); foot of slightly sloping vertical 10 . . . [ ,  $c$  or  $o$  . . . [ ,  
 $\gamma$  or  $\pi$ ;  $\rho$  or  $\eta$  likely . . . [ , end of oblique + speck to left at bottom; horizontal top joined to vertical at left  
 (length points to  $\pi$ ) . . . [ , oblique (triangular letter ?) . . . [ , vertical with curl to right at bottom ( $\iota$  would fit)  
 11 . . . [ , specks at bottom + horizontal top ( $\tau$  or  $\pi$ ); vertical trace (?) . . . [ , part of loop on edge of gap ( $\alpha$  ?)  
 . . . [ , specks ( $\pi$  or  $\nu$  compatible) 12 . . . [ , small hook + speck to right (top of letter[s]) . . . [ ,  $c$  or  $o$  likely; thick  
 vertical trace widening at top . . . [ , rounded trace on edge 13 . . . [ , rounded trace ( $o$  or  $\omega$  fits);

small loop ( $\rho$  ?); top of  $\lambda$  or  $\delta$ ; top of vertical (?)  $\alpha\lambda$ : between the letters a low speck; end of  $\alpha$  or part of  
 narrow letter ( $\iota$ ) 14 . . . [ , horizontal top . . . [ , vertical trace on edge.

## Fr. 7

1 . . . [ , end of oblique; vertical trace on edge 2 . . . [ , rounded letter ( $\epsilon$  or  $c$ );  $\alpha$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\xi$  or  $\zeta$  3 . . . [ ,  
 specks 4 . . . [ , top of vertical 5 . . . [ , speck at bottom + oblique ( $\nu$  ?); rounded trace on edge  
 (too steep for  $a$  ?) 6 . . . [ , speck . . . [ , horizontal trace at bottom 7 . . . [ , rounded letter 8 . . . [ ,  
 speck at bottom 9 . . . [ , rounded letter 10 . . . [ , rounded trace . . . [ , horizontal top; small  $o$  or  $\rho$   
 11 . . . [ , a possible 12 . . . [ , top of vertical; faint traces (top of letter) 15 . . . [ , beginning and top  
 of oblique.

## Fr. 8

1 . . . [ , specks; top of vertical; two rounded letters (?) 2 . . . [ , small horizontal trace at  
 bottom; specks (rounded letter ?); triangular letter; rounded trace at bottom (rounded letter or end of oblique)  
 3 . . . [ , slightly sloping horizontal + ink above and below ( $\phi$ ); horizontal trace at bottom + some ink  
 above; specks; slightly sloping vertical;  $\epsilon$  or  $\theta$ ;  $\eta$  or  $\nu$ ; triangular letter (?) 4 . . . [ , specks;  $\tau$  or  $\pi$ ;  
 bottom of  $o$  or  $\alpha$ ; part of low slightly sloping vertical 5  $\delta\epsilon$ : above left part of  $\epsilon$  some supralinear ink  
 . . . [ , specks (horizontal top ?); high specks (consistent with top of  $\rho$ ); rounded trace at bottom + speck above  
 it . . . [ , lower part of  $\kappa$  or  $\chi$  . . . [ , speck (narrow letter) 6 . . . [ , specks . . . [ , horizontal top + some ink  
 below ( $\tau$  likely); rounded letter or  $\rho$  . . . [ , blotted traces on edge 7 . . . [ , end of oblique; left part  
 of rounded letter; specks; top of vertical; specks . . . [ ,  $\epsilon$  or  $\theta$ ; rounded trace at bottom with some ink above  
 and below 8 . . . [ , oblique (fork of  $\nu$  likely) . . . [ , specks; vertical . . . [ , horizontal top 9 . . . [ ,  
 blotted indefinite traces; fourth letter: horizontal top + vertical descending at middle; fifth letter: top of vertical;  
 specks 10 . . . [ , horizontal + ink below; faint indefinite traces . . . [ , top right of rounded letter;  
 thin horizontal top + ink below 11 . . . [ , rounded trace (top of letter) . . . [ , top of rounded letter . . . [ ,  
 speck (top of vertical) 12 . . . [ ,  $\epsilon$  fits . . . [ , triangular letter; vertical trace.

## Fr. 9

1 . . . [ , slightly rounded trace at bottom ( $\epsilon$  likely) . . . [ , rounded letter; beginning of oblique ( $\mu$  or  $\lambda$ )  
 . . . [ , specks 2 . . . [ , specks . . . [ , triangular letter . . . [ , top of vertical + low speck to right 3 . . . [ ,  
 vertical trace . . . [ , left part of  $\zeta$ ,  $\delta$  or  $\omega$  most likely (+supralinear ink or dirt) . . . [ , speck;  $\alpha$  or  $\lambda$  likely . . . [ ,  
 small rounded letter 4 . . . [ ,  $\alpha$  or  $\lambda$  . . . [ , specks . . . [ , specks (lower part of  $\alpha$   
 compatible) . . . [ , specks at bottom . . . [ , specks . . . [ , vertical; vertical + specks to left at mid-height  
 ( $\nu$  ?); specks; right part of loop + ink below ( $\rho$  fits) 6 . . . [ , oblique or rounded trace at bottom; high  
 oblique or rounded trace . . . [ , horizontal top + ink below . . . [ , sloping vertical (as in  $\eta$  or  $\kappa$ ); speck  
 7 . . . [ , top of vertical; bottom of  $\epsilon$  or  $c$ ; vertical trace 8 . . . [ , top of  $\rho$  likely . . . [ , horizontal top;  
 bottom of small rounded letter;  $\nu$  fits; beginning of sloping vertical + horizontal top ( $\gamma$  ?); vertical bending  
 backwards at top; vertical leaning to left + blotted medial horizontal ( $\eta$  or  $\nu$  ?) 9 . . . [ , two joining  
 obliques ( $\alpha$  or  $\lambda$ ); rounded letter . . . [ , specks (top of letter);  $\delta$  likely; top of vertical 10 . . . [ ,  
 horizontal top; top of vertical.

## Fr. 10

1 . . . [ , feet of letters: oblique; specks; end of oblique or rounded base; specks; end of oblique; foot  
 of sloping vertical; bottom of rounded letter 2 . . . [ , specks ( $\kappa$  compatible) 3 . . . [ , slightly sloping  
 horizontal + specks to left ( $\gamma$  or  $\tau$ ) 4 . . . [ , beginning of  $a$  fits; vertical joined by medial horizontal ( $\eta$  fits)  
 5 . . . [ , horizontal top + specks below; indefinite traces ( $\epsilon$  ?) . . . [ , left part of rounded letter 6 . . . [ ,  $a$   
 or  $\lambda$  7 . . . [ ,  $\phi$  likely 9 . . . [ , specks;  $\gamma$  or  $\tau$  13 . . . [ , rounded trace at bottom; foot of  
 vertical + speck at mid-height to right 15 . . . [ , speck at bottom; rounded trace at bottom 16 . . . [ ,  
 speck; oblique + ink above it; indefinite traces at bottom 17 . . . [ , tops of letters: small loop; speck;  
 triangular letter; speck; small rounded trace (mid-height).

## Fr. 11

1 . . . [ , faint traces at bottom (perh. supralinear ink above  $\iota$  in 2) . . . [ , foot of vertical; specks 2 . . . [ ,  
 end of oblique 8 . . . [ , right end of horizontal top.

## Fr. 12

1 ] . . . , faint trace 2 ] . . . , end of oblique; speck at bottom + small horizontal trace at bottom (perh. α or λ) 3 ] . . . , 3 or 4 letters: π or τ; right part of loop of ο or ρ (or left part of λ); rounded trace (or right end of oblique of λ) at bottom; specks on edge of gap (bottom left + top right of letter) 4 ] . . . , left part of rounded letter 5 ] . . . , ε or right end of κ above ν supralinear trace (small ρ, perhaps preceded and followed by more supralinear ink) 6 ] . . . , rounded letter 7 ] . . . , speck (top right of letter, κ compatible) 8 ] . . . , rounded letter 9 ] . . . , vertical + speck on edge at mid-height (ν fits) 10 ] . . . , specks on edge 11 ] . . . , top of vertical (?).

## Fr. 13

1 ] . . . , speck at bottom 2 ] . . . . . , oblique trace, sloping to right; blotted indefinite traces 3 ] . . . . . , blotted indefinite traces 4 ] . . . , faint trace (top of letter ?) 5 ] . . . , specks; rounded letter (ε fits best) 6 ] . . . , blotted traces on edge.

## Fr. 14

1 ] . . . , foot of vertical 2 ] . . . , speck on edge (top of letter) 3 ] . . . , speck at top 4 ] . . . , λ or χ 5 ] . . . , specks 6 ] . . . , speck.

## Fr. 15

1 ] . . . , speck at bottom 2 ] . . . , beginning of long oblique (perh. χ) 3 ] . . . , speck on edge (top right) 4 ] . . . , top of vertical.

## Fr. 1 col. i

8 Perhaps Αἰάτιος[. Αἰάτιος is attested as a son of Pheidippos and father of Thessalos. He is said to have migrated to Thessaly; cf. Polyae. 8, 44; Charax *FGrH* 103 F 6. He may have been referred to in the epinician for Keles in Simon. *PMG* 511, but the evidence allows no conclusions. Sometimes the name is spelled Αἰάτιος; cf. also fr. 10. 8.

9 κα[ . . . ]ν: some form of καλέω seems possible (e.g. καλο[θε]ν would fit space and traces if written not too closely).

10 εφυρα can be read; on Ephyra see comm. on 16 ff.

11 ] . . . . . ]ος: this may be the poet who is quoted in 12 (where see comm.). One could think of e.g. Lysimachos, who is described as ὁ τοῦς νόστους ποιήσας Κολοφώνιος (cf. e.g. Eust. 1796, 45; *FGrH* 382 F 15), or of a description like ὁ Κολοφώνιος for Antimachos or Nicander (who wrote an epic poem *Οἰταϊκά*). The width of the column suggests that only the ethnic was mentioned, but Κολοφώνιος cannot be verified from the papyrus.

Φειδίππον: Pheidippos was the son of Thessalos and grandson of Herakles (cf. *Il.* 2, 679; *Σ* AR 3, 1090). With his brother Antiphos he took part in the Trojan war with thirty ships from Kos and Nisyra (*Il.* 2, 676 ff.; Strabo 14, 653 C; DS 5, 54; *Σ* Pi. *N* 4, 40; Diktys 1, 14, 17). After the Trojan war they went to Ephyra in Thesprotia, where they were also buried (Artist. *Peplos* 640, 39 Rose). One of their descendants, another Thessalos or his father Aiatios (see on 8) moved from Thesprotia to Thessaly, which was called after Thessalos (Vell. Pat. 1, 3, 1; Strabo 9, 444 C). Cf. Höfer in Roscher III 2, 2291 s.v. Pheidippos; Hiller von Gaertringen in *RE* VIa, 113 (s.v. Thessalos).

12 κοσμήτορα points to a quotation from poetry, of which also 13 and perhaps 14 may be part; ] . . . ]ον is probably part of an adjective going with it, and one would expect a genitive to follow. Cf. e.g. AR 1, 194 γηραλέον κοσμήτορα παιδός; in Homer the word is always connected with λαών (e.g. *Il.* 1, 16; *Od.* 18, 152).

13 It is attractive to read and divide the letters as follows: ] . . . ε ν η γ α θ ε α ι τ η ] . . . Cf. e.g. *Il.* 2, 722 Αἴμυωι ἐν ἡγαθέρι.

14 ιππ[ . . . ]μας: the name Ἰπποδάμας, the only proper name that suggests itself, is too short and does not particularly fit the context and traces. It seems best to divide ]ος ιππ[ . . . ]μας assuming that a new word began after some form of Ἰππος or Ἰππ(ε)ιος. The latter is attested as an adjective of gods like Zeus, Ares or Poseidon (*Ποσειδῶν*]ος Ἰππίου would fit).

15 f. ]μος ἐν ταῖς α[ . . . ]μας: apparently a reference to an author and his work. As ]μας is a likely reading we may assume that the work was referred to as ἱστο]ρίμας. Then the end of 15 must be part of a

further qualification. The stroke indicates an abbreviation, and there are the following possibilities: (1) name of an author, so that ἱστορίμας must mean 'commentaries', as in e.g. *Σ* Lyc. 911 ἐν . . . Πινδάρου ἱστορίμας. If so, the author in ]μος could be Didymos and α[ . . . could be Aischylos. Difficulties with this solution are that (a) we are left with room for four letters in 16; (b) that α[ . . . does not look like αἰ[ . . .; (2) adjective going with ἱστορίμας, in which case Ἀττικαῖς springs to mind. There are several Attidographers in -mos, e.g. Kleidemos (*FGrH* 323); Phanodemos (*FGrH* 325); Kadmos (*FGrH* 335). The titles given for their works vary; only of Kadmos is the title Ἀττικαῖ ἱστορίαι attested (*FGrH* 335 T 1). The difficulties here are the same as with (1): (a) awkward spacing at the beginning of 16; (b) α[ . . . does not look like ατ[ . . . It should also be noted that abbreviations for Ἀττικός are usually αττι[ . . . vel sim.; cf. K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek literary papyri and ostraca*, Ann Arbor 1981, 12.

16 ff. The train of thought may be as follows: '(author Y said in work X that) in the . . . th year (Antiphos and) Pheidippos sailed from Troy (and did something in) Ephyra'. This implies that we have to take εφυρα as a dative without iota adscript and that the number of the year must have been indicated by a letter. Perhaps it was told here how Antiphos and Pheidippos settled and died in Ephyra and were buried there (ἀπὸ Τροίας πλέ[οντας θανεῖν ἢ οἰκεῖν ἐν] Ἐφύραι would nicely fill the gap in 18 f.). On Pheidippos going to Ephyra cf. Vell. Pat. 1, 1, 1 *Pheidippos Ephyram in Thesprotia* (sc. *occubavit*); on Antiphos and Pheidippos Arist. *Peplos* fr. 640, 39 Rose.

19 Probably about Ephyra in Thesprotia; see on 16 ff. Cf. on this place also Paus. 9, 36, 3; Strabo 7, 324 C; on Thesprotian Ephyra as the starting-point for the colonization of Thessaly see Strabo 9, 444 C (quoted in intr.).

τρι: perhaps corresponding to εἶται μὲν in 16. It could be 'the third year' or 'the third generation'. The first could lead to τρι[τῶν δὲ (sc. εἶται) Ἀντιφῶν καὶ Ἰωνας, which fits the space very well. If these people went to Thessaly a verb could follow in 21. In *Σ* Lyc. 911 we have a version of the story where Antiphos is indeed going to Thessaly, whereas Pheidippos ends up in Cyprus. The latter could lead to e.g. τρι[τῶν δὲ γενεῶν Θεσσαλῶν καὶ Ἰωνας, which, however, is definitely too long, although it fits in with the tradition that Thessalos, the grandson of Pheidippos (see on 8), colonized Thessalia (see on 11). As to the space there may be better prospects in taking ]ν as the end of an infinitive, e.g. ἤκει]ν. For the idea of the 'third generation' cf. also Th. 1, 12, 3 (60 years after the Trojan war there was still a great deal of resettlement).

20 Ἰωνας: I assume that in this context this refers to the Athenians in the Homeric sense (cf. Kleidemos *FGrH* 323 F 13). I found no indications that they went to Thessaly with Antiphos or his descendants after the Trojan war. But, as a great deal of *nostos*-colonizing was attributed to them, the idea is not implausible (cf. T. W. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, Oxford 1921, 55).

21 Θεσσαλίαν seems likely. Another possibility—though less likely—is Ἰτ]αλίαν (cf. Ps.-Apollod. *Epit.* 6, 15).

## Fr. 1 col. ii

2 εκφ[ . . . ]: probably εκφύρα[ . . . ], which may be either from εκφυράω or aorist of εκφύω. The latter seems more promising, e.g. some form of the participle εκφύσας.

5 ff. In 5 we may divide αca πελ[ or ac απελ[. For the first possibility cf. *Σ* Lyc. 911 Ἀντιφῶς δὲ ὁ Θεσσαλοῦ εἰς Πελαγονοὺς ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατασχὼν Θεσσαλίαν ἐκάλεσε. But the fem. -aca is awkward. With ac απελ[ we may think of some form of ἀπελθεῖν, -ών etc. and -ac could be the ending of e.g. an accusative plural or a masculine participle. This second division is more attractive. The subject of 5 ff. may still be Antiphos and Pheidippos: ἀδελφῶν in 7 would fit a context about brothers. Alternatively this passage may be about Aiat(i)os' colonization of Thessaly. Cf. Polyae. 8, 44: Aiatos went to Thessaly with his sister Polykleia. An oracle (cf. *χρησμ.* [ in 8) had said that the one who first crossed the Acheloos would be king of the new land. Polykleia pretended to have hurt her foot and asked her brother (cf. *ἀδελφο.* [ in 7) to carry her across the river (cf. perhaps διενε[γκεῖν vel sim. in 6). He did so, and at the last moment she jumped out of his arms onto the shore, saying she was the first to enter the land. Aiatos rather admired her for this and married her. They called their son Thessalos. Although verbal reminiscences of Polyae. 8, 44 may be detected they do not seem sufficient to prove anything for 5 ff.

6 διενε[γκεῖν vel sim.?

11 αριστοτ[ . . . ]: perhaps a reference to Aristotle (or part of a quotation containing e.g. the word *δυσαρκετοσκέα* [*Il.* 18, 54]?).

14 *δος* *διοτ*[: *διοτ* might be from *διοτρεφής*, which occurs e.g. in *Il.* 2, 660 and Hes. *Th.* 82 *διοτρεφένω βασιλίων* (and *δος* might point to Hesiod); another possibility is *διότ*[:  
15 f. *ἔστρα*]|*τευμένο* [i vel *sim.*?

Fr. 2

5 ]*υποροειν* γλ[: the dative ending points to a quotation from a poet. If from epic we can choose between *εὐρ*]υπόροειν and *ὠκ*]υπόροειν; if not, there is also *ταχ*]υπόροειν. The first word is used of the sea (e.g. *Il.* 15, 381; *Od.* 4, 432; 12, 2); the second of ships (e.g. *Il.* 2, 351 *νηυσὶν ἐν ὠκυπόροειν*; 10, 442); the third too (e.g. E. *Hel.* 1272). I found no overlap with Homer or Hesiod. As to γλ[ we may think e.g. either of the name of an author or of γλ[αφουραῖς, another epithet suitable for ships (attested in epic and Pindar; cf. e.g. *Il.* 2, 680). In the latter case the metre may be choriambic (–) υυ – – υυ – υ. In *Il.* 2, 712 *Γλαφύρας* is mentioned as a place-name.

6 -*δαμας* ρητ[ωρ? No proper name recommends itself particularly.

8 f. Perhaps ]*ερισατε* δ[ and ]*αισατε*, which may be another quotation. But it is easy to think of other divisions of the letters (e.g. ] *ερισα* τε δ[, ] *ερισα* τε δ[ and ] *ερισα* τε δ[ cf. Call. fr. 1, 5]).

11 *ἐπ*]υκάσαντο?

12 f. In 12 *πατρ*[ι]ος or *πατρ*[ο]ς is likely. In 13 we may divide ]*μου* φθιεν ουδε δω[, which looks like a quotation from poetry again; its metre might be aeolic (xx) – υυ – υ – ], although *ἐφθιον* from *φθίω* is attested only in Homer.

14 Aigimios was a Doric king near Mt. Oita, whose sons Pamphylos and Dymas assisted the Heraclids when they returned to the Peloponnese. Cf. e.g. Ps.-Apollod. 2, 8, 3; Σ Pi. P. 5, 92; Strabo 9, 427 C. In Σ Pi. P. 1, 121c we find that these Dorians first lived on Mt. Pindos near Perrhaibia (cf. fr. 9.5?), then moved to the area between Mt. Oita and Parnassos (cf. fr. 11.5?) and eventually joined the Heraclids. On Aigimios and Herakles cf. N. G. L. Hammond, *Ephrus*, Oxford 1967, 381. On Aigimios in Thessaly cf. Hdt. 1, 56; DS 4, 37, 3; Ps.-Apollod. 2, 7, 7: he helped Herakles against the Lapith Koronos.

17 *ἀνθ*]ρώποισι: another poetic quotation? or *ἀνθ*]ρώποισι ιλ[?

18 *δος*: it is tempting to think of an genitive ending in *δος* or of *Ἡεία*]δος, though obviously this does not exhaust the possibilities. *διδου* may be δ' *ιδου* or *διδου*].

19 *θεοφιλέ*ς or *θεοφιλέ*ς[*τερος* or -*τατος* vel *sim.*

21 ff. These lines may contain a quotation from lyric poetry:

καδ δε υδ[  
μ]εγαλήτορος[  
] α χαλκιοπαι[  
]με[ν]αιχμορ[

For details see below. The subject of the fragment could be Herakles' adventures at Kos. These are also dealt with in Pi. fr. 33a (from *h.* 1 to Zeus), which is in dactylo-epitrites. Our fragment too could be incorporated in a dactylo-epitritic sequence. Although it may be tempting to make the connection I do not think that the evidence is sufficient to attribute the fragment to Pindar's first hymn, but one should bear in mind the possibility.

21 We may read *καδδευδ*[: *καδ* is a poetic form. It occurs in e.g. *Il.* 2, 692, but we have no reason to suppose that our author is speaking about that passage here. There might, just possibly, be a defective overlap with *Il.* 14, 435 f. *καδ δε οι ἕδωρ | χεθαν*. The form is also attested in Anacr. *PMG* 441 *καδ δε λώπος ἐχχίθη* and we find *κάν* in Pi. *O.* 8, 78. The line may, therefore, also be part of a quotation from lyric.

22 Probably *μ*]εγαλήτορος: another poetic word, attested in epic as well as in lyric poetry (e.g. Pi. *I.* 5, 34); presumably part of the same quotation as the preceding line.

23 Probably *Χαλκιοπαι*[: the grandmother of Antiphos and Pheidippos was Chalkiope, the daughter of Eurypylos of Kos and wife of Herakles, by whom she bore Thessalos (cf. e.g. Σ Pi. *N.* 2, 42; Σ *Il.* 2, 677 and the references given by Erbse ad loc.; see further Höfer in Roscher III 2, 2291 s.v. Pheidippos). The Doric ending suggests a quotation from lyric poetry.

24 Probably *με*[ν]αιχμορ as an adj. or proper name. Cf. *μεναιχμης* (Anacr. 74) or *μέναιχμος* (Paul. Sil. *AP* 6, 84, 5). If it is a proper name we may e.g. think of Menaichmos of Sikyon (*FGrH* 131; cf. also fr. 8.3). Adjectives in -αιχμος are mainly poetic; cf. the other compounds with -αιχμος, none of which, however, can be read here (*ἵππαιχμος* [Pi. *N.* 1, 17]; *ἀρέταιχμος* [B. 17, 47]; *δμαιχμος* [cf. Hsch. *O* 672 (II 756 Latte) *δμαιχμοι σύμμαχοι* (Th. 3, 58, 4)]).

Fr. 3

2 κ]υπρ. [ is a possibility. There was a tradition that Pheidippos went to Cyprus via Andros; cf. Σ Lyc. 911; Ps.-Apollod. *Eph.* 6, 15. Cf. also on fr. 4 col. i 12 f. Alternatively we may think of e.g. ο]υ πρ[, which would give a completely different text.

3 *θηγγαν*[: *θηγγάνω* is primarily a poetic word, though we do have instances of it in Arist. and X. (cf. LSJ s.v.). It might be part of a quotation.

5 Perhaps something like ε *πορτε* τελεει[ or a form of *επιτελέω*?

6 ff. Though I cannot make much sense of this passage two things are worth observing: (1) the author apparently took some care to make his diction varied (cf. 7 *κατά*+acc. and 9 *ὑπέρ*+gen. to describe what his sources were talking about); (2) -*αιως* in 9 seems to imply some kind of judgment on the way in which Damastes wrote (see comm. on 9 f.). This fits in with the other indications of a self-conscious author (see on fr. 7.5 ff.; 11.2 f.).

6 f. Xenagoras was a historiographer and geographer of iv/iii BC, who wrote *inter alia* a work *Περὶ νήσων* (*FGrH* 240 F 26–28). As it seems likely that he was used in a work which dealt with the Coan Antiphos and Pheidippos we may well have a reference to that work here. Perhaps we may supply *κατὰ τὴν Κωζ* (–*ων*) *ἀποικί*]αν, but it may be a little too short.

8 Damastes of Sigeion (ca. 400 BC) wrote *inter alia* a work entitled *Περὶ γονέων καὶ προγόνων τῶν εἰς Ἰλιον στρατευσαμένων βιβλία δύο* (*FGrH* 5 T 1), more elaborately described by Suidas s.v. *Πῶλος*: ... *ἔγραψε Γενεαλογίαν τῶν ἐπὶ Ἰλιον στρατευσάντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, καὶ πῶς ἕκαστος ἀπήλλαξε* (*FGrH* 5 T 3). It seems likely that this is the work referred to here.

9 f. *αιως*: we may think of e.g. *θανυ*]αίσιος or *παραπλη*]αίσιος (S. L. Radt; cf. Str. 16, 778 C *τὰ μὲν παραπλησίως τῶν Ἐρατοσθένει λέγει*) as it most probably qualifies Damastes' way of describing something. Then perhaps something like *ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων*] *στρατείας*, which fits the space very well.

11 f. *τε*: perhaps the end of a participle describing the activities of Xenagoras and Damastes, e.g. *λέγον*]τες, *γράφου*]τες. At the end of 11 *κα*[*ταλίπτοι* springs to mind—though it may be too long—, and its subject *οἶτος* may have been Pheidippos—as opposed to Antiphos in 13—leaving for Cyprus. If so, the train of thought could be: 'that he (sc. Pheidippos) left his country and ... Antiphos, as X. says, ...'. But there are some loose ends: why reported speech instead of simple accusative and infinitive? What is *κανο*? In Σ Lyc. 911 Antiphos does not leave his country, but is returning from Troy.

13 On Antiphos, the brother of Pheidippos, see comm. on fr. 1 col. i 11. At the end presumably *δν* *τρόπ*[ον ... *φή*]–*σαν*, with the name of an author in the lacuna.

14 *φ*': 500??

*κανο*: in prose *κάνοι* would be unlikely; if we read *κάν οι* we would expect a verb in the subjunctive to follow, which would imply that *σαν* in 16 cannot be part of that verb.

Fr. 4 col. i

4 *θ*]εσπρω[*τια* vel *sim.* would do; see on 8 below. But of course ]*ε*ς *πρω*[ is also possible.

6 ]*πειν*: infinitive of a verb.

7 Perhaps *Θε*ς]αλ[δ]ος *παραλαβῶν τὴν* [.

8 It may be tempting to try to read *Ἡρο*[δ]ότωι (this could refer to Hdt. 7, 176, 4 *ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκίζοντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα, τὴν περ νῦν ἐκτέαται*), but I do not think it fits. At the end perhaps *χ*[*αι*]μονια[ν]; cf. Str. 9, 443 C (Thessaly is called) *Αἰμονία δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰμονος, Θεσσαλία δὲ ἀπὸ Θεσσαλοῦ τοῦ Αἰμονος*.

10 Probably another reference to Pheidippos, as ]*φ*ε[*ι*]δ[*ι*]ππ[ is a very likely reading.

12 Probably *Ἄν*[*α*]ξιμένην ἐν | *το*]ς *Κυπριακοῖς*: this title of a work of Anaximenes of Lampsakos (second half of iv BC) is not recorded elsewhere. Cf. the titles in *FGrH* 71 F 1–30; DH *De Isae.* 19; Brzoska in *RE* I 2086 ff. (s.v. Anaximenes 3). There are also some indications that Anaximenes wrote an epic poem on Alexander the Great (*SH* 45 and 913). On the tradition that Pheidippos went to Cyprus see on fr. 3.2.

14 We could read *ἀ*]δελφὸν *αὐτ*[ο]ῦ.

18 Probably ἐν Ἰλίοι.

Fr. 5

There is a number in the upper margin (N<sup>5</sup>=56), rather oddly placed (it almost touches the first line of text) as if it was added later and was not part of the original lay-out. This must mean that this is the 56th

column of the roll. As the column-height was at least 30 lines (cf. fr. 2) this means that at this point we have had at least 1680 lines of text.

1 f. The move to Thessaly by the Thessalians from Thesprotia (Epirus) is supposed to have taken place about the end of the second millennium. It is mentioned in Hdt. 7, 176, 4; Th. 1, 12, 3. In the mythographical tradition it was attributed to Antiphos (Ps.-Apollod. *Ephr.* 6, 15); Thessalos (Vell. Pat. 1, 3) or Aiatos, the son of Pheidippos (Polyaen. 8, 44). The idea that it was the offspring of Antiphos and Pheidippos (Strabo 9, 444 C) fits in best with Thucydides' dating of the migration in the 60th year after the Trojan war.

1 ff. We may try to reconstruct this passage as follows:

τῆς μεταβάσεως τῆς εἰς τὴν  
Θεσσαλίαν ὃν καὶ αὐτὸς  
μιζεῖ νέον ὄντα παῖ  
]εν εἶναι περὶ ἐκείνο[ν τὸν  
χ]ρόνον καὶ διὰ ταῦτα[  
]αυτολε[. . .].

The contents may be something like: '(X the leader) of the migration to Thessaly, of whom also (Y thinks ?) that, being young, he was at that time in ... and because of that ...'. In 3 μιζεῖ would be part of a verb (e.g. νο[ ]μιζεῖ).

2 αὐτ[ ]: pronoun or beginning of a proper name?

3 f. πα[ ] | ]εν: indicating a location, e.g. πα[ρ] 'Ἀρκά]εν (S. L. Radt)? The addition νέον ὄντα could suggest that somebody was brought up elsewhere.

6 The letters may be divided in several ways.

## Fr. 6

11 νάπει δα[κκίωι? At the beginning of the line perhaps ]τιδ[ας or ]πειδ[ας (ης]ιδος cannot be read).

13 f. Another quotation? Cf. *Od.* 11, 314 φυλόπιδα ... πολέμοιο; *Il.* 13, 635; [Hes.] *Sc.* 114.

## Fr. 7

5 ff. These lines may provide a clue as to the nature of the text, but it is a very tenuous one. The text contains some form of *ιστορέω* in 5, probably *ὑστερον* in 6 and *ἀπειρω* in 7, and perhaps a reference to Ilium in 8. If the text has something to do with Homeric criticism this would fit in a passage in which our author criticizes later authors, who did not interpret Homer in a proper way; this kind of criticism was popular among Aristarchus and his pupils, one of whom was Apollodorus of Athens (cf. e.g. Schwartz in *RE* I 2864; R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* I, Oxford 1968, 261). Traces of it are found in Strabo, who may have got it from Apollodorus (cf. B. Niese, 'Apollodoros Commentar zum Schiffskataloge als Quelle Strabo's', *RhM* 32, 1877, 267–307, esp. 274 f.); e.g. Strabo 8, 356 C οἱ γὰρ νεώτεροι πολλὰ καινίζουσιν, ὥστε καὶ τὰναντία λέγειν; 13, 612 C; cf. also Strabo 1, 30 C οἱ ὑστερον about later authors about Homer and 9, 438 C οἱ ... ὑστερον, in a passage which according to Pfeiffer on Call. *Ia.* fr. 200a may go back on Apollodorus *Περὶ Νεῶν*. For *ἀπειρω* in this context cf. Apollod. *FGrH* 244 F 157 ἃ δ' Ἀπολλόδορος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ *Περὶ Νεῶν* προοιμιαζόμενος εἶρηκεν, ἥκιστα λέγοιτ' ἂν. ἐπαιεῖ γὰρ Ἐρατοσθένης ἀπόφασιν, ὅτι φησὶν ἐκείνος καὶ Ὀμηρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ εἶδέναι, τῶν δὲ πόρρω πολλὴν ἔχειν ἀπειρίαν, ἀπειροὺς μὲν μακρῶν ὁδῶν ὄντας, ἀπειροὺς δὲ τοῦ ναυτιλλεσθαι; Strabo 13, 612 C οἱ δ' ἀπειρότεροι τῶν παλαιῶν ιστοριῶν. In any case the text offers a glimpse of a self-conscious author formulating an opinion, and the evidence from Strabo combined with the fact that our papyrus seems to have something to do with the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* would fit in with what we know of Apollodorus *Περὶ Νεῶν*, but also with other scholars working in the same tradition. The evidence does not allow firm conclusions.

14 μυρ[ ]: μύριοι, μυρῖοι or *Μυρμιδόνες* vel sim. (cf. *Il.* 2, 684)? Cf. Vell. Pat. 1, 3, 1 *Thessalia...*, ante *Myrmidonum uocitata ciuitas*.

## Fr. 8

2 θεσσαλ[ ] can be read.

3 f. μεναιχ[ ] might be read; cf. also fr. 2.24.

5 δευτέρῳ[ ] is likely.

11 f. Probably δυχεῖ: some form of *δυχεμέρος* is therefore likely. Cf. e.g. *Il.* 2, 750 οἱ περὶ Δωδώνην *δυχεμέρον οἶκον ἔθεντο* (sc. the Perrhaiboi); 16, 234; XXX 2513 22. According to Strabo the Perrhaiboi lived

near Mt. Olympos in Thessalian Dodona (cf. 12, where θεσσαλ is a likely reading) (Strabo 9, 441 C; cf. Strabo 7, fr. 1–1c about the transfer of the oracle from Thessaly to Epirus. In Homer Dodona is already considered to be in Epirus; see Allen 131r). Cf. also fr. 9.4 f. and 6 with comm.

## Fr. 9

3 f. Probably ἀθ]έλιμον[ ] [ . . . ] ἀνιέ[ ]ρον; cf. Hsch. A 1546 Latte ἀθέλιμοι κακοί (which according to Latte is corrupt) and Suid. A 713 Adler ἀθέλιμος ὁ κακός. The word is not attested elsewhere. It goes well with ἀνιέ[ ]ρον, a word with a related meaning and well attested in 5th century tragedy (e.g. A. *Su.* 757; *Ag.* 220; 769; E. *Hipp.* 147; 992; not in S. or the minor tragedians; cf. also *TrGF* 2 F 336b).

4 f. The quotation is attributed to Κοφ]οκλής ἐν[ ] [ ]εραμβίβ[ ]ε, and this is probably wrong: a play called *Perrhaibides* was written by Aeschylus (*TrGF* 3 F 184–186a) and ἀνιέρος is attested for him, but not for Sophocles (this may of course be due to accident). For a similar false quotation cf. S. F. 581 (from S. *Terens*, wrongly attributed to Aeschylus). The Perrhaiboi were mentioned in *Il.* 2, 749, and this may account for the quotation. They first lived near Mt. Olympos (cf. fr. 6 ??) and were driven from there by the Lapiths, led by Ixion and his son Peirithoos. Ixion, the notorious villain, might be the one described in the quotation! Cf. Strabo 9, 439 C; Lyc. 903 ff. with Σ ad loc.

6 We could read υφόμεντο[ ] 'Ολ[ ]ύμου; cf. Hes. *Th.* 117 κάρη υφόμεντος 'Ολύμπου.

7 θαν[ ]: part of a verb? Doric acc. fem.?

ανδρων: either ἀνδρῶν or Ἄνδρων. Andron of Halicarnassus (probably iv BC) wrote a work called *Κυγγεῖναι* (or *Κυγγενικά*) or *Ἰστορίαι* (cf. *FGrH* 10 T 1–4). He wrote *inter alia* about Tektaphos, the son of Doros, colonizing Crete from Thessalia; cf. F 16b and Jacoby ad loc., who relates the passage to Apollodorus *Περὶ Νεῶν* and quotes DS 5, 80, 1 (Tektamos [sic] collected colonists ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν 'Ολυμπον τόπων).

## Fr. 10

2 ff. κλεους, which may be read in 2, and χαλκ[ ] in 4 may provide a clue as to the contents: the first suggests something about Herakles and the second would fit such a context. This does of course not exhaust the possibilities, but it has the advantage of offering an explanation of the fragment which fits the presumed contents of the papyrus. Two explanations are in fact possible: (1) Ps.-Apollod. 2, 7, 1 tells us how Herakles, sailing from Troy, came to Kos and took it by night, killing its king Eurypylos; he was wounded in the battle by a certain *Chalkodon*; (2) Σ *Il.* 14, 255 at the same occasion Herakles also married the daughter of Eurypylos, *Chalkiope*, and they had a son, Thessalos. The second explanation seems more relevant for the contents of the papyrus (cf. fr. 2.23).

6 ηβ[ ]: perhaps a reference to Hebe, Herakles' wife on Olympos, but other divisions of the letters are equally possible.

8 Aiat(i)os was a son of Pheidippos and father of another Thessalos. The story of how he came to Thessaly is told by Polyaen. 8, 44; see on fr. 1 col. ii 5 ff.

10 f. Ἐκα]ταῖος ὁ Μελή]σιος. Which work of Hecataeus is referred to is not clear. We may think of his *Ἰστορίαι*, which dealt with the Deucalionids (*FGrH* 1 F 13–16) and with other matters concerning Thessaly and Perrhaibia (F 2, 3 and 5). Another possibility would be the *Περιήγησις Ἐυρώπης*, in which towns in Thessaly and Perrhaibia were discussed (F 133–137). Clearly he dealt with matters treated by our author (cf. also 12 θε[ ], which may refer to Thessalos/Thessaly). It may also be relevant to remember that Hecataeus was one of the sources of Apollodorus; cf. *FGrH* 1 F 20 Ἀναξίμανδρος καὶ Διονύσιος καὶ Ἐκαταῖος, οὗς καὶ Ἀπολλόδορος ἐν Νεῶν καταλόγῳ παρατίθεται; *ibid.* F 25, 119, 121.

13 μέν[ ]ηται vel sim. cannot be excluded.

13 f. Φε[ ]|[ ]δ[ ]πος καὶ Ἀ[ ]ντιφος seems likely.

## Fr. 11

2 f. εἶρη[ ]α μὲν or εἶρη[ ]α μὲν suggests an author who, in the first person singular or plural, refers to something he has said (cf. e.g. Str. 9, 427C καθάπερ εἶρηκαμεν; 10, 945C et passim). We may combine this with βύβλον in 4: something he has said in another part of this book or in another book? This kind of reference suggests that our text is not just an anonymous compilation of material, but part of a work that was written by a distinct and self-conscious author. See also on fr. 3.6 ff. and 7.5 ff.

4 f. If related to *Il.* 2 perhaps about Trachis, which was founded by Herakles (Σ Lyc. 905) and the



people of which went to Troy with Achilles (*Il.* 2, 682). Later the Spartans (cf. 4 ]λακεδαί) founded Herakleia (cf. 5 ηρα ??) on this spot. Cf. Th. 3, 92, 1; Strabo 9, 428C.

Fr. 12

4 Perhaps Κύναιθών (S. L. Radt), a town in Arcadia normally called ἡ Κύναιθα, but *Cynaethae* in Plin. *NH* 4, 20. For fluctuation between the singular and plural of a placename cf. also Pola/Polae (Call. fr. 11, 6 with Pfeiffer ad loc.); many examples in Strabo.

6 χαλκ [ : see comm. on fr. 10.2 ff.

9 ]ισθηε[ : perhaps about Aiatios and Thessaly/Thessalos; see on fr. 1 col. ii 5 ff. and fr. 10.8.

M. A. HARDER

### III. DEMOSTHENES

**4310–4333** represent all the unpublished papyri of Demosthenes I–IX so far identified in the Oxyrhynchus collection. This more than doubles the number of available papyri. A consolidated list follows; the earliest items were published or republished in the dissertation of B. Hausmann, *Demosthenis Fragmenta in Papyris et Membranis servata* (Leipzig, 1921; publ. Florence, 1978–1981).

#### I (*Olynthiac I*)

9, 16, 23–6	XV 1810	roll	ii	Oxy
13–19	<b>4310</b>	papyrus codex	ii/iii	Oxy
18–22	<b>4311</b>	roll	ii/iii	Oxy
22–8	XLIX 3435	roll	ii	Oxy

#### II (*Olynthiac II*)

1, 10, 13, 17–19,	XV 1810			
21–2, 24–7, 30				
2	<b>4312</b>	roll	later ii	Oxy
4–5, 30–1	<b>4313</b>	roll	ii	Oxy
4, 20–1	<b>4314</b>	roll	i/ii	Oxy
9–11, 13–5	PBerol. 8519 = Hausmann I	roll	iii	?
10, 15	CR 6 (1892) 430 [Hausmann II]	roll	i/ii	Thebaid?
26–9	<b>4315</b>	roll	iii/iv	Oxy

#### III (*Olynthiac III*)

1, 3, 9–14, 35–6	XV 1810			
10–12	<b>4316</b>	roll	ii/iii	Oxy
26–33	PBerol. 21280 = Maehler, <i>Scritti ... Montevocchi</i> (1981) 199	papyrus codex	late ii/early iii	Hermopolis
28	<b>4314</b>			Oxy
33–6	PSI XI 1205 + Manfredi, <i>Trenta Testi</i> 11	roll	late i	Oxy
36	<b>4317</b>	roll	i/ii	Oxy

#### IV (*Philippic I*)

2, 4, 7–8, 14–15,	XV 1810			
18, 21, 23,				
32–41, 43, 45–51				
4–7	PSorb I 6	roll	ii/iii	?
4–9, 47	<b>4314</b>			
12–4	<b>4318</b>	roll	ii/iii	Oxy
25–9	<b>4319</b>	roll	ii	Oxy
26–9	PGen inv. 258 = Nicole, <i>Textes grecs inédits</i> (1909) 3 [Hausmann III]	parchment codex	iv–v	?
46–7	<b>4320</b>	roll	iii	Oxy

47, 50-51	PWashUniv II 66	papyrus codex	ii/iii?	Oxy
47-51	<b>4321</b>	roll	ii	Oxy
<b>V (de pace)</b>				
2-5, 7-9	PSI II 129 [Hausmann IV]	parchment codex	iv	Oxy
13-14	<b>4322</b>	roll	ii	Oxy
16-21	XV <b>1810</b>			
21, 23	III <b>460</b> [Hausmann V]	roll	ii/iii	Oxy
<b>VI (Philippic II)</b>				
1, 5	PAmh II 24 [Hausmann VI]	parchment codex	iv	?
1-2, 6-7	<b>4323</b>	papyrus codex	iii	Oxy
3-9, 10-15	PRainCent 21 + PKöln IV 183	papyrus codex	iii-iv	?
25-6	<b>4324</b>	roll	i/ii	Oxy
31-5	PHamb. inv. 735 = <i>ZPE</i> 8 (1971) 133	roll	ii	?
<b>VII (de Halonneso)</b>				
21-2, 25-6	PLaur IV 135	papyrus codex	ii/iii	?
25	PBerol. 13235 = Hausmann VII	roll	ii	?
26	<b>4325</b>	roll	iii	Oxy
29-31	PBerol. 8520 = Hausmann VIII	roll	ii/iii	?
<b>VIII (de Chersoneso)</b>				
6	PCt.YBR inv. 1348 = <i>ZPE</i> 100 (1994) 45	roll	ii	Abutig??
14-21	<b>4326</b>	papyrus codex	iii	Oxy
18-20	<b>4327</b>	roll	iii	Oxy
33-6	<b>4328</b>	roll	ii	Oxy
53, 57	<b>4329</b>	roll	late ii	Oxy
54-7, 59-61	<b>4330</b>	roll	ii	Oxy
60-7	PBerol. 16895 + 21284 = <i>ZPE</i> 48 (1982) 61	roll	late i bc	Abusir el Melek
68-9	<b>4331</b>	roll	i/ii	Oxy
75-6	<b>4332</b>	roll	ii/iii	Oxy
<b>IX (Philippic III)</b>				
29-34, 61-8	PMich. inv. 918 = <i>CP</i> 20 (1925) 97	parchment codex	iv	Panopolis?
31-4	<b>4333</b>	roll	iii	Oxy
38-40, 43	PFay 8 [Hausmann IX]	roll	ii	Bacchias

As the basis of collation we have taken the edition of C. Fuhr (Teubner, 1914), which gives the most reliable account of the primary MSS, SFAY. Of these, A begins substantially at IV 28, with fragments only of the earlier speeches (I 8-15, II 16-24, III 24-IV 3); Y begins at VII 19 (the earlier parts have been supplied by a hand of the fourteenth/fifteenth century). A fifth MS of the tenth/eleventh century, U, was

adduced by Fuhr to replace the missing A; others have thought it closer to Y (MacDowell, *Demosthenes Against Meidias* 58 f.). The later MSS have not been systematically collated, but some reports can be found in the editions of Dindorf (1846), Vömel (1857) and Butcher (OCT, 1903); for VIII and IX see further D. Irmer, *Zur Genealogie der jüngeren Demostheneshandschriften* (Hamburg, 1972).

For general accounts of the medieval tradition, see Erbse in H. Hunger and others, *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung I* (Zürich, 1961) 263 f.; H. Wankel, *Demosthenes: Rede für Ktesiphon* (Heidelberg, 1976) I 66 ff.; D. M. MacDowell, *Demosthenes Against Meidias* (Oxford, 1990) pp. 38 ff. For a general bibliography of textual work 1915-1965 see *Lustrum* 14 (1969) 16 ff. On the papyri, and their relation to the MSS, see Hausmann; G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione*<sup>2</sup> (Florence, 1952) 269-94; A. E. Samuel, *BASP* 2 (1964-5) 34-6.

## 4310. DEMOSTHENES I 13-19

14 1B.204/C(a)

Frr. 1-5 10 × 11 cm

Second/third century

Twelve fragments from one page of a two-column codex. Many are contiguous, and column-height can be calculated at 28 lines per column. Line-length varies from 14 to 20 letters (or perhaps 23; see ↓ i 4), and up to 2 cm of the top margin and 3 cm of the bottom margin survive, with an intercolumnium of up to 1.5 cm. Assuming that the outer margins were at least as wide as the intercolumnium, the codex when complete will have been at least 16 × 20 cm, putting it best perhaps among the aberrant examples in Group 6 of Turner's typology (*The Typology of the Early Codex* 18, 24), although there can be no certainty.

The hand is an upright angular form of the Severe Style, medium-sized, bilinear ( $\rho$  and  $\nu$  descend slightly below the line), with well-spaced letters, many with small serifs. Ligatures are avoided. Somewhat comparable is PBodm XIV (Seider, *Pal. gr. Pap.* II 49, Taf. XXV), although  $\epsilon$  and  $c$  are smaller here.

Iota adscript is not written and elisions are generally but not always made. A number of corrections have been made both by the scribe ( $\rightarrow$  i 18, ↓ i 22, ii 7) and by what appears to be a second hand ( $\rightarrow$  ii 6, 25). There are no marks of punctuation apart from paragraphus (↓ ii 11, 13), that too perhaps by the second hand.

The papyrus offers several unattested variants. One is a possible reversal of word-order (↓ i 4), one a phonetic misspelling of no consequence (↓ ii 3-4). Of more interest is the omission of the phrase  $\tau\iota\varsigma \delta\nu \epsilon\lambda\pi\omicron\iota$  ( $\rightarrow$  i 7), which Cobet suggested should be deleted, and confirmation of the MSS reading  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma \tau\acute{o}\kappa\omicron\iota\varsigma$  ( $\rightarrow$  ii 15), where  $\tau\acute{o}\kappa\omicron\iota\varsigma$  has been suspected. At  $\rightarrow$  ii 6 an original  $\kappa\omicron\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma\theta\epsilon$  (S) has been changed to  $\kappa\omicron\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$  (cett.). There are also several agreements of an eclectic nature with variants in the medieval tradition.

Part of § 16 (↓ i 9-11) is represented also in **1810**; parts of §§ 18-19 (↓ ii 6-19) in **4311** i 4-15.

→ col. i  
 πανθ ον εβο]υλετο ευ  
 τρεπικας τρο]πον ωχετο  
 εις θρακην] ειτ [ε]κ[ει  
 τους μεν εκβ]αλων [τους  
 5 δε καταστ]ησας [των

c. 8 lines lost

παραλειπω ς]τ[ρατει  
 ας τι ο]υν ταυτ[α λε  
 γεις ημι ]ν νυν ιν[α  
 γνω]τε ω ανδρες αθη  
 10 να]ιοι και αισθης[θ]ε  
 αμφ]οτερα και τ[ο π]ρο  
 ιεσθα]ι καθ ε[κα]ς[τον] α  
 ει τι τ]ων π[ραγματω]ν  
 ως αλυσιτελες κα]ι την  
 15 φιλοπραγμοσυ]νην  
 η χρηται και συ]ζη  
 φιλιππος υφ]ης ου  
 κ εστιν οπως αγ]α[μ]πη  
 ςας τοις πεπρα]γμε  
 20 νοις ησυχιαν ςχ]ησε[ι]ε

§14

→ col. ii  
 ει [δ] ο μ[εν ως αει τι μειζον  
 των υπ]αρχοντων δει πρατ  
 τε[ιν εγνωκως εσται η]μ[εις  
 δ [ως ουδενος αντ]ιληπτε  
 5 ον ερωμενωσ τω]ν [πραγ  
 ματων] ςκ[οπει][ςθ] 'τ' [εις τι  
 ποτ ελ]πις τ[αυ]τα [τελευ  
 τησα]ι προ[ς θ]ε[ων τις ου  
 τως ες]τιν ευη[θης υμων

§15

10 οστις] αγνοε[ι τον εκει  
 θεν πολ]εμο[ν δευρ ηξοντα

3 lines lost

θην[αιιοι μη το]ν α[υτον  
 τροπο]ν ωςπερ ο[ι] δα[νει  
 ζομεν[οι ραδ]ιως επι τ[οις  
 15 μεγαλ]οις το]κοις μ[ι  
 κρον] [ευπορ]ησαντ[εσ  
 χρονο]ν υστε]ρον κ[αι  
 των αρ]χαιων] α[πεστη  
 20 σαν ου]τω [κα]ι η[μεις αν ε  
 πι πολλω] φαν]ω[μεν  
 ερραθυμηκοτε]ς και α  
 παντα προ[ς η]δο[νην  
 ζητουντες [πο]λλ[α και  
 25 χαλεπα] ων ουκ εβουλο  
 μεθα προτερον [εις αναγ  
 (m. 2) υστερον]

↓

col. i  
 κην ελθωμεν ποι]ε[ι]ν και  
 κινδυνευσωμεν] περι [των  
 εν αυτη τη χωρα το με]ν ουν  
 επιτι]μ[αν ιως φησαι τις αν  
 5 ] . [

§16

] . [  
 τι δει πρατ]τε[ιν αποφαι  
 [νεσθαι τουτ ειναι συμ]  
 βουλου εγω] δ ο[υκ αγνοω  
 10 μεν ω αν]δρες [αθηναιοι  
 τουθ οτι] πολ[λακις υμεις

4 lines lost

τα] γνωμ[ην εκ]βη ου  
 μ]ην ο[ι]μ[αι δειν τ]ην ιδ[ι  
 αν] αςφα[λειαν εκ]οπουν  
 15 θ υ]π[ο]ς τ[ειλασθαι] π[ε]ρι  
 ων] υμι[ν κυμφερ]ειν  
 ηγου]μαι φη[μι δη] διχη  
 §17 βοθητ]ερον ε[ιναι τ]οις πραγ  
 μασι]ν υμιν τω τ[ε] τας  
 20 πολει]ς τοις [ο]λυνθιοις [ε]ω  
 ζειν] και τ[ο]υς τουτο π[οι  
 ησον]τας στρατιωτας `εκ'πε[μ  
 πειν] και τω την εκει  
 νου χ]ωραν κακως π[οι

↓ col. ii  
 ει]ν και τ[ριηρεσι και  
 ετ]ρατιωτ[αις ετεροις  
 ει δε θα]τερου [τουτων ο  
 §18 λιγωρ]η[ε]τα[ι οκνω  
 5 μη ματα]ιος ημ[ιν η

c. 9 lines lost

ακιν]δυνως [ορων ε  
 χ[ο]ντα `τα' [οι]κοι [προσκαθε  
 δ[ειται κ]αι π[ροσεδρευ  
 ε]τοις πραγμα[σι πε  
 10 ρι[εστ]αι τω χρονω [των  
 π[ολιορ]κουμενω[ν δει  
 δ[η πολλη]ν και [διχη  
 τ]ην βοθηειαν ειναι και  
 §19 π[ε]ρι μεν της βοθηει  
 15 ας [ταυτα γιγνωσκω  
 περ]ι δε χρηματων πο

ρ[ου εστιν ω ανδρες  
 αθη]ναιοι χρηματα  
 υμι[ν εστιν ος ουδενι

→  
Col. i

7 τι ο]ν 4310: τί οὐν τις ἂν εἴποι SFU (ἂν τις εἴποι A). Cobet deleted the extra phrase (which appears already in the sentence before). The scholia show that some difficulty was felt about the sentence-structure: τινὲς δὲ εἰς τὸ 'τί οὐν ἂν τις εἴποι' ἐπιφέροντες ἐπιφέρουσι 'ταῦτα λέγεις ἡμῖν' (Schol. Dem. I p. 35, 105a Dilts).

12-13 αἰεὶ 4310 AU: αἰεὶ SF.

18 μ overwritten as π by the first hand.

19 εχ]ησε[ι]ε 4310: εχῆσει SFAU. The apparent final ε in the papyrus stands out a little in the margin, and might be by a second hand. Is it simply a dittography of the ε which begins the next word at the top of col. ii?

Col. ii

2 Spacing favours δεῖ SFU over ὅτι δεῖ A.

6 εθ cancelled by diagonal crossing and τ added by a second hand. κοπέειθ' S (τε mg. rec.): κοπέειτε vulgo.

8-9 ἐστὶν εὐθήης 4310 AU: εὐθήης ἐστὶν SF.

15 μεγάλους τόκους 4310 SFU: τόκους om. Priscian. XVIII 295 (II p. 367 Hertz), del. L. Spengel.

19-20 ἡμεῖς ἂν ἐπὶ πολλῶν SFU: ἂν om. Pal. 104, del. Dobree. In the papyrus, spacing does not exclude αν.

25 προτερον 4310, υστερον added by a second hand: υστερον SFU.

↓  
Col. i

4 φῆσαι τις ἂν SFU, but line-length suggests a possible reversal of word-order in 4310, perhaps τις αν | φῆσαι.

5, 6 Traces only.

Col. ii

3-4 ολιγωρ]η[ε]τα[ι 4310: ὀλιγορήσετε SFU.

5 ἡμῖν 4310 SFU: ὑμῖν Dindorf.

9-10 περιέσται 4310 4311 SF: καὶ περιέσται U.

14 μὲν SFU and perhaps 4310 (to judge from the spacing): μὲν δὲ 4311.

13-15 Readings and reconstruction doubtful.

17-18 ἔστιν ... χρήμαθ' ὑμῖν 4310 4311 SFU: ἔστιν ὑμῖν ... χρήματα Hermog. 425.4 Rabe.

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#### 4311. DEMOSTHENES I 18-22

A 13/4D

Fr. 2 7.7 × 8.7 cm

Second/third century

Nine fragments from two columns. All are contiguous except for one from near the foot of col. ii. Intercolumnia measure up to 1.4 cm. No other margins survive. The back is blank. Line-length varies from 18 to 23 letters. Assuming that there were no lacunas, column-length will have been c. 38 lines and in this format *Olynth*. I will have occupied only some twelve columns of writing. As XV 1810 and now 4314 suggest (cf.

**4327**), a single roll might sometimes contain a number of shorter related speeches (cf. M. W. Haslam, *LCM* 1 (1976) 9–10). Here too therefore we may have an example of a roll containing all or most of the ‘Philippic’ speeches.

The hand is an upright form of the Severe Style, with well-spaced medium-sized letters, bilinear except for the extension of ρ, τ, υ and φ. Ligatures are completely absent. A comparable hand is Turner, *GMAW* no. 34, although the present example may be later than the second century.

Iota adscript is written superfluously at i 12 and so may have occurred regularly elsewhere. Vowels at word-end are sometimes elided, sometimes written out. Elision is unmarked. Line-fillers (~, ˘) are common; superscript dash for final nu at i 4. The only punctuation is the high stop used by the original scribe and paragraphi added by a second hand.

The papyrus presents a number of peculiar variants, none of them of any importance (i 11 μὲν δὴ for μὲν, ii 8–9 ἀντιλαμβάνεσθε for ἀντιλάβεσθε; reversals of word-order at ii 18, 22–3). It shares variants with U at ii 5–6 and 17.

Parts of §§ 18–19 (i 4–15) are represented also in **4310** ↓ ii 6–19.

Col. i (fr. 1 & 2)

· · · · ·  
 ραιδιως επι τη]ν οικ[ειαν ε]λ  
 θων αμυνετα]ι ειτε βοηθη  
 σαντων μ]ον[ο]ν υμων εις  
 ολυνθον] ακινδυνως ορω  
 5 εχοντα τα ο]ικοι προσκαθε ~  
 δειται και] προσεδρευει ~  
 τοις πραγμασι] πε[ρι]εσται  
 τωι χρονωι των πολιο]ρκου]ν  
 μενων δ]ει δη πολλην και  
 10 διχηι τη]ν βοηθειαν ει]να]ι ~  
 κ]αι περι μεν δη της βοηθ[ει  
 ας ταυτα γιγνωσκωι· περ[ι  
 δε χρηματων πορου εστι]ν  
 ω αυ[δρες α]θηναιοι χρημ[α  
 15 τα υ]μιν εστιν] ος ουδεν[ι  
 τω]ν αλλων ανθρωπων στρα

§19

Col. ii (fr. 1, 3, 4, 6–8, 9)

πολλα αν ολιγω]ν [ο]λιγα  
 δει δε χρηματ]ων και ανευ  
 τουτων ουδε]ν εστιν γεν[εσ  
 θα]ι τω]ν δεο]ντων· λεγουσιν  
 5 δε και αλλ[οι] τινες αλλους πο  
 ρους ων ελε[ε]θε οστ[ι]ς υμ[ει]ν  
 κυμπερειν δ[οκει] και εως [εσ  
 τι καιρος [εσ]τι]ν αν]τιλαμ[βα  
 νεσθε των προ]ματω]ν α  
 10 ξι]ον δ ενθυμ[ηθη]να]ι κα]ι  
 λογ[ι]σασθαι τ[α]πρα]γματα ~  
 εν [ωι] καθ[εστηκε] ν]υνει τα  
 φι[λιπ]που ου]τ]ε γ[αρ] ως δοκει  
 και φησειε τις α]ν] μ[η]σκο  
 15 πων ακρειβως ε]ντρεπωσ  
 ουδ] ως αν καλλιστ [αυτωι τα  
 παροντ] εχοι ουτ αν ε]ξηνεγ  
 κ]ε ποτε τον πολεμον το]υτον  
 εκεινος ει] πολεμ[ειν] ωιηθη

c. 10 lines missing

20 θ[ρωποις κομιδηι δ] ωςπερ  
 η]ν [και εστι νυν τουτωι  
 κα]ι γαρ παγασας αυτον α  
 πα]ι[τειν] εις εισηφισμε  
 25 νοι [και μαγνησιαν κεκω  
 . [

(§22)

Col. i

7 περιέσται **4311 4310** SF: και περιέσται U.

9 δὴ **4311** SU: δὲ F.

11 μὲν δὴ **4311**: μὲν **4310** (to judge from the spacing) SFU.

13–15 ἔστιν ... χρήμαθ' ὑμῖν **4311 4310** SFU: ἔστιν ὑμῖν ... χρήματα Hermog. 425.4 Rabe.

15 To the left, traces from a line-end in the preceding column.  
οὐδένι **4311** SFU: οὐδέει Dindorf.

Col. ii

- 5-6 και αλλ[οι] τινες άλλουc πορουc **4311**: και άλλουc τινάc πόρουc SF: τινεc άλλουc πόρουc U.  
6-7 υμ[ε]ν ... δ[ο]κει: the spacing in 6 suggests this restoration (the reading of SFU), rather than υμ[ε]ν  
α]ν ... δ[ο]κει] (the reading cited by Butcher as 'vulg.'). For the itacistic spelling cf 12 ν]ννει, 15 ακρειβωc.  
7-8 [ε]τι καιροc [ε]τι[ν] **4311**: ἐcτι καιρόc SFU.  
To the right, traces from the next column, most suggesting the fork of a forked paragraphus.  
8-9 α]ντιλαμ[βα]νεcθε **4311**: ἀντιλάβεcθε SFU.  
12 To the right, a trace from the next column.  
17 ἔχοι **4311** U: ἔχη SF: ἔχει Aug. 3<sup>1</sup>.  
18 ποτε τον πολεμον **4311**: τὸν πόλεμόν ποτε SFU.  
22-3 αυτον α]παι[τε]ν **4311**: ἀπαιτεῖν αὐτόν SFU.

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#### 4312. DEMOSTHENES II 2

112/74(a)

5.5 × 11 cm

Later second century

The beginnings of thirteen lines from the top of a column, with 4.5 cm of the top margin extant and an intercolumnium of 1.5 cm. Line length varies from 12 to 18 letters. The back is blank.

The hand is a medium-sized Severe Style, inclining slightly to the right, comparable to XV **1808** (pl. IV), although the letters are less rounded here, or the slightly more upright XXXIX **2889** (pl. V). The small size of ε, ο and c contrasts noticeably with the breadth of μ, ν, π and τ: ρ and υ descend well below the line and there is occasional ligaturing of τ to the following letter.

There are no readings of interest.

κκοπειν αυτ[ουc οπωc (§2)  
μη χειρουc π[ε]ρι ημαc  
αυτουc ειναι [δοξομεν  
των υπαρχου[των  
5 ωc εcτιν των [αιcχρων  
μαλλον δε τω[ν αιcχιc  
των μη [μονον πο  
λεων [και τοπων ων  
ημεν [ποτε κυριοι φαι  
10 νεc[θ]α[ι προιεμενουc  
αλλα κ[αι των υπο

της τυ[χηc παρασκευ  
αc[θεντων κυμμαχων  
. . . . .

1 αυτ[ουc: del. Rehdantz, ήμαc Dobree.

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#### 4313. DEMOSTHENES II 4-5, 30-1

34 4B.78/E(7-9)a

Fr. 1 5.5 × 7.5 cm

First/second century

Two fragments, written across the fibres. Fr. 1 has 1.8 cm of the top margin extant, fr. 2 a similar amount of the bottom margin. Line-length varies from 26 to 34 letters, in keeping with the hypomnema-like quality of the hand, to give a relatively wide column (7-7.5 cm).<sup>1</sup> The backs are blank, except for a couple of letters or possibly symbols standing alone; they may perhaps have come from the far right-hand side of an account of some type.

The hand is an informal rounded upright of small to medium size, bilinear except for φ extending well above and below the line; ligatures are generally avoided. L **3533** (pl. IV; Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> no. 86), assigned to the second century, is somewhat comparable, although the letters here are smaller and more carefully made; but at least one feature, ε with detached cross-bar, may suggest an earlier date (compare Roberts, *GLH* nos 10a-c). Elisions are sometimes made and sometimes marked with an apostrophe (by the original hand); there are no other marks of punctuation. Movable nu is written at one place; it is not possible to say whether iota adscript was written or not. The scribe has omitted letters in several places, adding them above the line in a more cursive form.

Like the MSS, **4313** reads ὑμῖν after τῶν δεόντων in § 31 (fr. 2.5), not the ἡμῖν printed by Butcher.

Some lines of § 30 (fr. 2.4-7) are represented also in **1810** fr. 19.

fr. 1

νοικ ορθωc δ]οκιμαζε[ι]ν ταυτ ειπε[ι]ν πει  
ρασομαι το] μεν ουν επιορκον και απιστον §5  
καλειν ανευ τ]ου τα πεπραγμενα δε[ι]κ]νυ  
ναι λοιδοριαν] ειναι τις αν φησειεν κε  
5 νην δικαιωc το] δε πανθ' οσα πωποτ'  
επραξε διεξιον]τ' εφ απα[ci]ν [του]το'ιc' ε[λε]γ

<sup>1</sup> On column-widths in prose texts see W. A. Johnson, *Proc. 20th Int. Congr. Pap.* 423-7.

χειν και βραχεος] λ[ογ]ου συμβ[αινει δει  
 θαι και δυοιν εν]εχ' [ηγ]ουμ[αι συμφορειν  
 ειρησθαι του τ ε]κ[ε]ιν[ον [οπερ και α  
 10 ληθες υπαρχει φ]αυ[λο]ν [φαινεσθαι  
 και τους υπερεκπ]επ[ληγμενους ω  
 c αμαχον τινα τον] φιλ[ιππον ιδειν οτι

fr. 2

]. [  
 θαι τριηραρχειν] ει[σφερειν στρατευε  
 θαι τοις δε ψηφι]ζε[σθαι κατα τουτων μονον  
 αλλο δε μηδ οτιουν] κυ[μποινει ουχι γενησε  
 5 ται των δεοντων]ν υ[μιν ουδεν εν και  
 ρωι το γαρ ηδικ]ημενον [αι μερος ελλει  
 ψει ειθ υμιν το]υτο 'υ' c κολαζ[ειν αντι των εκ  
 θρων εξεσται λ]εγω 'δη' κεφαλ[αιον παντας εις §31  
 φερειν αφ οσων] εκαστος εκ[ει το ισον παντας

Fr. 1

8 ἡγοῦμαι συμφέρειν 4313 S: συμφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι F.  
 11 To judge from the spacing, the papyrus had τοὺς (S), not τοῦ τοὺς (F).

Fr. 2

5 ὑμῖν 4313 SF: ἡμῖν Butcher. In 1810 the word is lost.  
 8 δὴ 4313 (added by the original hand) SF: δὴ changed to δὲ U.

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## 4314. DEMOSTHENES II 4, 20-1, III 28, IV 4-9, 47

112/5

Fr. 5 9.0 × 11.5 cm

First/second century

Several fragments from *Olynth.* II and III, and *In Phil.* I, apparently from the same roll. The papyrus may therefore have contained all the 'Philippic' speeches as a group, like XV 1810 which is contemporary with it. The largest fragment (fr. 5), itself made up of several smaller fragments, has most of two consecutive columns with *In Phil.* I 7-9; line-length is 19-24 letters, giving a column of 29-31 lines. The intercolumnium is 1.5 cm, and fr. 3 has 4 cm of the bottom margin extant. No upper margins survive. The back is blank.

The hand is a small to medium-sized upright rounded capital, similar to E. G. Turner, *GMAW* no. 72 (X 1233), assigned to AD ii, or XXXIX 2878, assigned by Lobel to the late first or early second century. Roughly bilinear except for ρ and φ; ε, ο and c are noticeably smaller than the other letters and there is a tendency to enlarge the initial letters of lines. Many letters are given small serifs and ligatures are avoided. Elision is sometimes made and iota adscript generally written. There are no marks of punctuation.

The papyrus offers two unique readings, both reversals of word-order (fr. 4:9; 6.3-4, where 4320 offers the transmitted text). As between MSS, its allegiances shift, but where the transmission is divided it never sides against S; at fr. 2.6 it allies with SAY, while 1810 allies with F.

Part of II § 21 (fr. 2.6 f.) is represented also in 1810 fr. 9-11 i 1-3; part of III § 28 (fr. 3) in PBerol. inv. 21280 ↓ ii 33-7 (see above p. 00); part of IV § 47 (fr. 6) in 4320 18-23.

Fr. 1

γεγενη]μενον [ουχι παρ αυ (II §4)  
 του ων ο]υν εκε[ινος μεν οφει  
 λει τοις] υπερ αυ[του πεπο  
 λιτευμε]ροις χα[ριν υμιν

Fr. 2

]. . . [ (II §20)  
 ]stripped? [  
 αθηναι]οι δεξε]ιν ουκ εις  
 μακραν] αν οι τε θε]οι θε  
 5 λωσι κα]ι υμεις βουλη]σθε ως  
 περ γα]ρ εν το]ις σωμασι §21  
 τεως μ]εν [αν ερρωμενος

Fr. 3

ας πλει]ω δ η χιλια κ[αι πεντα (III §28)  
 κοσια τ]αλαντα αν]ηλωκα  
 μεν εις ο]υδεν δεο]ν ους δ εν  
 τωι πολ]εμωι συμ[μαχους

Fr. 4

και μεθωνη]ν και πα[ντα τον (IV §4)  
 τοπον του]τον οικε[ιον κυκλωι  
 και πολλα] των μετ εκεινου  
 νυν ουτων εθνω]ν αυτονο  
 5 μουμενα] κα[ι] ελευθερα υπηρ  
 χε και μ]αλλον υμιν εβου  
 λετ εχειν] οικειως η εκεινωι  
 ει τοιωνν] ο φιλιππος τοτε §5  
 10 εσχε ταυτ]ην γνω[μην ω]ς  
 χαλεπον] πολεμει]ν εστιν α  
 θηναιοις] εχουσι τοσαυτ] επι

Fr. 5

col. i

χρησιμον τη πολει πασα]ν (IV §7)  
 αφεις την ειρωνειαν ετ]ροι  
 μος πρατ]τ[ε]ιν υπ[αρ]ξιηι ο μεν  
 χρημ]ατ εχων ε[ισφ]ερειν ο  
 5 δ εν] ηλικιαι στρ[ατ]ε[υε]σθαι  
 κυνελοντ[ι δ απλω]ς αν  
 υμ]ων αυτ[ων εθειληση]τε  
 γεν]εσθαι κα[ι] παυσησθε αυ  
 τος] μεν ουδεν [εκαστος ποιη  
 10 ρει]ν ελπιζω]ν τον δε πλη  
 ριο]ν πανθ υ[περ αυτου] πρ[α  
 ξει]ν και τα υ[μετερ αυ]των  
 κομι]ειςθε αν [θεος θελ]η και  
 τα κα]τερραθυ[μημεν]α πα  
 15 λιν αναληψεσθε κακ]εινον  
 τιμωρησεσθε μη γαρ ω]ς θε  
 ωι νομιζετ εκεινωι τ]α πα

§8

ροντα πεπηγεναι πραγ]μα  
 τ αθανατα αλλα και μισ]ει

col. ii

]...[  
 ]παντα [ταυτα νυν ουκ εχον  
 τ] αποστρ[οφην δια την υμετε  
 ραν βραδ]υτητα και ραθυμι  
 5 αν ην απ[οθεσθαι φημι δειν  
 ηδη ορατ]ε γαρ ω ανδρες αθη §9  
 ναιοι το [πραγμα οι προελη  
 λυθεν [ασελγειας ανθρωπος  
 ος ουδ [αιρεσιν υμιν διδωσι  
 10 τ[ου πραττειν η αγειν ησυχι  
 αν [αλλ απειλει και λογους υ  
 π[ερ]ηφανους ως φασι λεγει

Fr. 6

πω]ς ονν τ[αυτα παυσε (IV §47)  
 ται ο]ταν [υμεις ω ανδρες  
 αθη]ναιοι αποδειξητε  
 τους] αυτο]υς στρατιω

Fr. 7 (unplaced)

]...[  
 ]οαν[  
 ]καικ . [   
 ]νηλ[



## Fr. 2

- 1 Traces only; perhaps *cb* of *ἐξετασθήσεται*.  
 2 The letters appear to be stripped across the whole width of the fragment.  
 6 *κόμασι* **4314** (to judge from the space) SA: *κόμασιν ἡμῶν* **1810** (to judge from the space) F.

## Fr. 3

- 1 *πλείω δ' ἢ χίλια* **4314** SFA: *πλείω δε χίλια* PBerol.

## Fr. 4

- 6 *ὑμῖν* **4314** SFU: *ἡμῖν* vulg.  
 9 *εσχέ ταυτ]ην γνω[μην* **4314** (not *ταυτην τ]ην*, to judge from the space): *ταυτην ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην* SF.  
 11 *τοσαῦτα* **4314** SF<sup>1</sup>: *τοιαῦτα* F corr. U.

## Fr. 5 col. i

- 1–2 If *παα]ν* is rightly read and restored in line 1, the spacing suggests that **4314** had *τῆν* in line 2: so SF, del. Frohberger.  
 6 *ἀπλῶς* **4314** (to judge from the space) SF, om. A suppl., del. Cobet: *εἰπεῖν* post *ἀπλῶς* add. F rec. s.v. U. *αν* apparently (coni. Benseler): *ἦν* SFU.

## Col. ii

- 2 *πάντα ταῦτα* **4314** S: *ταῦτα πάντα* FU. **4314** perhaps had *α]παντα*, since there seems to be room at the line-beginning for an extra letter, but not for the *τοι* of *μέντοι*.

## Fr. 6

- 3–4 *ἀποδείξητε τους] αυτο[υς* **4314**: *τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξητε* **4320** SFA.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

## 4315. DEMOSTHENES II 26–29

8 1B.192/C(1–3)b

7.8 × 14.5 cm

Late third/early fourth century

Part of one column, in which the lines are almost complete, and the beginnings of a few lines of the next. There is a bottom margin of 4.5 cm and an intercolumnium of 1.5 cm. Line length varies from 20 to 26 letters, giving a column of 30–33 lines. The back is blank.

The hand is a small to medium-sized Severe Style, very angular and sloping markedly towards the right, somewhat comparable to Turner, *GMAW* no. 50 (VII **1015**); bilinear except for *ρ*, *τ*, *υ*, and *φ*, which extends well above and below the line; letters are well spaced and ligatures are avoided. Elision is occasionally made. It is not possible to say whether iota adscript was written. The middle stop (by the same hand) and paragraphus are the only marks of punctuation.

As well as itacistic spellings, the papyrus offers several peculiar readings, none of any significance: *ὑμῶν* for *ἡμῶν* (a common error) and a reversal of word order at the end of § 26 and an unnecessary *αὐτοὺς* and another reversal of word order at the beginning of § 27.

Parts of §§ 26–7 (col. i) are also extant in **1810**.

## col. i

· · · · ·  
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 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 5 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 10 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 15 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·

χον ἐστι] φύσιν [του] το γέ [πολυ γαρ  
 ραον ε]χοντας φ[υλα]ττει[ν η  
 κτησα]ζῆθαι παντα πεφυκ[εν  
 νυν δ ο τι] μὲν φυλαξομε[ν ου  
 5 δὲν ἐσθ υπο] του πολ[ε]μου λο[ι]πον  
 των προ]τ[ε]ρ[ων] κτ[η]σασθαι δε δει·  
 αυτων] ουν υμων τουτ εργον η  
 δη φη]μι δη δε[ιν αυτου]ς χρ[η]μα §27  
 τα εισφ]ερειν αυτο[υς ε]ξ[ι]εναι [π]ρ[ο  
 10 θυμ]ως μηδενα αιτιασθαι  
 πριν αν τ]ων π[ρ]αγματων κρα  
 τηρητε τ]ηρικαυ[τ]α δ απ α[υ]των  
 των εργω]ν κρειναγτας τ[ο]υς  
 μὲν αξιω]υς επαιν[ο]υ τειμα[ν] τους  
 15 δ αδικουντας] κολαζειν τα[ς] προ]ο  
 φασει δ αφε]λειν κα[ι] τα κ[αθ υ  
 μας ελλειμματα ου] γαρ ἐστ[ι] πι

## col. ii

· · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 5 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 10 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·

· [ (§29)  
 τε [ταυτας αφιετε περιεσ  
 τ[ι] τουνν υμιν αλληλοις  
 [εριζειν και διεσταναι]  
 5 [τοις μὲν ταυτα πεπει]  
 ζμ[ενοις τοις δε ταυτα τα κοι  
 [να δ εχειν φαυλωσ προτερον ω]  
 [ανδρες αθηναιοι εισεφερετε]  
 κ[ατα συμμοριας νυνι δε πολι  
 10 τευε]σθε κατα συμμοριας ρη  
 τω]ρ ηγεμων εκατερων και

## Col. i

7 υμων **4315**: ἡμῶν SFU.τουτ' εργον **4315**: ἔργον τοῦτ' SFU.8-9 αὐτου]ς χρ[η]μα[τα εἰσφ]ερεῖν **4315**: εἰσφέρειν χρήματα SFU.13 κρῖναντας **4315** SFU: κρι]νοντας **1810**.

## Col. ii

1 ff. The reconstruction is uncertain. Line 2 ranges between i 6 and 7, 'line 6' with i 11, 'line 10' between i 14 and 15; 'lines 4-5' have 36 letters, fewer than might be expected for two lines but perhaps too many for one. Further, above line 2 is what appears to be a paragraphus below a small trace of ink. A paragraphus should signal a break in the sense; but the text that the proposed restoration implies for line 1 would not provide one. Perhaps therefore we should write instead:

[ . . . . . ] οταν δε δον

τ[ε] [ς λογον τας αναγκας ακουση

τ[ε] ταυτας κτλ

8-9 εἰσφερετε] κ[ατα συμμοριας **4315** (κ damaged but likely) SFU: κατὰ συμμορίας εἰσφέρετε Cobet, coll. XIII 20.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

**4316. DEMOSTHENES III 10-12**

50 4B.23/P(1-3)a

8.2 × 9.8 cm

Second/third century

This fragment from a roll contains the remains of two columns; of the right-hand column only some initial letters survive. The column originally had about 30 lines; the lines have from 12 to 18 letters. A small part of the upper margin, 1 cm deep, is preserved above the left-hand column. The left-hand margin is lost; the margin between the columns measured 1.5-2 cm. The back is blank.

The text is written in a medium-sized 'Severe Style' book hand, sloping slightly to the right. α has the angular shape, μ is rounded, the descenders of ρ, τ and υ reach below the line. The letters stand rather far apart. Among the Demosthenes papyri, II **232** (*Contra Timocratem*, see pl. IV) and I **26** (*Prooemia*, see Roberts, *GLH* 19a) represent this type of handwriting; compare also I **23** (Plato's *Laws*, see pl. VI) and Seider, *Pal. gr. Pap.* II pl. XVI no. 33, PBerol. 9766 = BKT II pp. 53 f. The only lectional sign is a diaeresis in 9. There are no corrections.

Parts of these sections are transmitted also in XV **1810** (ii AD): fr. 4.8-10 corresponds to **4316** i 1-4, fr. 5 i 12-16 to ii 1-8. At i 6 **4316** transmits καθίστατε, with all MSS, where editors generally adopt Bekker's καθίσατε.

## col. i

]τουτο λεγε [μη τοινυν

]ω ανδρες αθη]ναιοι

]θαυμασητε εαν πα

]ραδοξον ειπω τι τοις

## col. ii

[ . . . . . ]

ς[υμφερει ζητειτε

π[ρω δε ταυτα πρα §12

ξ[αι μη σκοπειτε τις

5 ]πολλοις νομοθετας

]καθιστατε εν δε του

]τοις τοις νομοθεταις

]μη θησθε νομον

]μηδενα ειςι γαρ υ

10 ]μειν ικανοι αλλα τους

εις τ]ο παρον βλαπτον

τας υμ]αξ λυσατε λε §11

γω δε τους] περι των

θεωρικων] σαφως ου

15 τωσι και το]υς περι των

στρατευο]με[νων ενι

c. 14 lines lost

5 ε[ιπων τα βελτιστα

υ[περ υμων υφ υμων

α[πολεσθαι βουλησε

τ[αι

## Col. i

3 εαν: ἂν editors.

6 καθίστατε **4316** SFU: καθίσατε Bekker.

6 f. τούτοις om. U.

9-10 ὑμῖν ικανοί **4316** FU: ικανοὶ ὑμῖν S.

12-13 λέγω δε τοὺς **4316** F and (δε corr. from δη) U: δε om. S. The spacing shows that the papyrus had δε (or δη).

## Col. ii

5 βελτιστα (without elision) **1810**; editors as usual print βέλτισθ'. Space does not show which form stood in **4316**.

R. HÜBNER

**4317. DEMOSTHENES III 36**

5 1B.59/H(bb)

2.7 × 8.5 cm

First/second century

The middle of two lines with the final sentence of *Olynth.* III, followed by a colophon. On the back are parts of ten lines from a money account (?) in a late first to mid-second century cursive; Choiak and the epagomenal days are mentioned, but there is no year-date.

Written in a large, rounded upright capital with noticeable serifs on a number of letters; κ is made in two strokes, with the vertical intersecting the wedge. Comparable hands are Seider, *Pal. gr. Pap.* II no. 17 (more rounded, thicker lettering; assigned to i AD), Turner, *GMAW* no. 24 = XVIII **2161** (smaller lettering; assigned to ii AD) and XXXVII **2820**, dated by Lobel to the first half of ii AD.

The end of *Olynth.* III is present also in **1810** (ii AD) and PSI XI 1205 (*Trenta Testi* 11, see p. 71) (late i AD). In their word-order all three papyri agree with A against the

other MSS. The end-title is present also in PSI 1205, as in SEA, but not apparently in **1810**.

λει] και πα[ειν υμιν (§36)  
 ευ]νοισει[ν μελλει  
 ]ολυνθι[ακος  
 ] γ [

1 *pācin hūm̄n cunōicein* **4317**, PSI 1205 **1810** (both *apacw*), A: *ἅπασι cunōicein hūm̄n* SF (*hūm̄n om.* U).

2 *Ὀλυθιακός* γ̄ subscr. SEA, *ολυνθια*[ PSI 1205.

4 γ framed with semicircular strokes: cf. the similar treatment of the book-number in LVII **3890** and of end-titles in general in XLVIII **3371**, LII **3683**, LIII **3715**.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

**4318.** DEMOSTHENES IV 12-14

49 5B.99/D(15-16)b

Fr. 1 5.5 × 7 cm

Second/third century

The tops of two consecutive columns, with the beginnings of 9 and 10 lines respectively. Line-length varies between 13 and 18 letters, with an average of 15, giving c. 31 lines per column. On fr. 2, 3.5 cm of the top margin survive, 2.5 cm on fr. 1, and there is an intercolumnium of 2 cm. The back is blank.

The hand is an angular form of the Severe Style, sloping to the right, bilinear (*ρ*, *τ*, *υ* descend well below the line), with fair-sized, well-spaced letters. Although earlier, Turner, *GMAW* no. 27 is somewhat comparable, as is XXXIX **2888** (pl. VI). It should probably be assigned to the later second or early third century. Movable nu is not written and elision is sometimes present, sometimes not. The only punctuation is the paragraphus. The scribe has made corrections at two points (fr. 1.6, 2.5).

The papyrus offers a unique variant which removes the asyndeton at the start of § 14 (fr. 2.5-6); the related reading of F and U has the same effect. Elsewhere it sides once with F rec. against SF<sup>1</sup>, once with SU against F, once with SFU against their marginal variants. Fr. 1.1 confirms that a phrase deleted by Dindorf already stood in the text at this stage.

Part of § 14 (fr. 2.3-8) is extant also in **1810**.

Fr. 1

τουτ] εξ[ε]ργ[α]σαιτο ις (§12)  
 θ [οτι] πλησ[ιον] μεν  
 ο]ν[τε]ς απαειν α[ν]  
 ται[ς] πραγμασι τε[ταραγ

5 μ[ε]νοις επισταν[τες  
 οπως βουλε[ι]ς[θε] διοι  
 κησαιθ[ε ω]ς δε [νυν  
 εχετε ου[δε] διδ[ο]ντων  
 των κ]αι[ρων] αμ[φίπο

Fr. 2

μαι λ]εγειν δεηθεις υ  
 μων] ω ανδρες αθη  
 ναιοι τ]ορουτον επει

§14

δαν] απαντα ακουση

5 τ]ε κρειν [.] α'τε και μη  
 δεν προ]τερον προ  
 λαμβανετε μηδ αν  
 εξ αρχης δοκω τιμι  
 κ]αινην π[αρα]σκευην  
 10 λ]ε[γειν αναβαλλει]ν

Fr. 1

1 The papyrus confirms that Dindorf's deletion of *και τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιτο* is to be rejected.

6 *βουλε[ι]ς[θε]*: the upright of *ε* shows some extra ink, and after *ε* stands a heavily inked upright curving rightwards at the top. Something was clearly deleted or overwritten. Perhaps *βουλε[ι]ς[θε]*; perhaps *βουλη*, the eta changed to *ε* or *εε* (note that F has *βούλεσθε* with *η* suprascript).

6-7 *διοικήσαιθε* **4318** F rec.: *διοικήσεσθε* SF<sup>1</sup>: *διοικήσετε* U.

8 *διδόντων* **4318** (if the traces are rightly read) SU: *διδόντων ὑμῶν* F.

Fr. 2

5 *κρειν[.] α'τε*, the original scribe overwrote a letter (*κ?* *ε* not suggested) in thick ink. *κρίνατε* SFU.

5-6 *και μηδεν προ]τερον* **4318**: *και μη πρότερον* FU: *μη πρότερον* S (and probably **1810**, to judge from the space).

10 *αναβάλλειν* **4318** (if the final trace is rightly identified) SFU: *γρ. και αναβάλλεσθαι* S rec.: *αναβάλλεσθαι γρ.* FU.

Exiguous traces of one more line.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

**4319.** DEMOSTHENES IV 25-29

112/62(b)

21 × 13 cm

Second century

Part of four consecutive columns, the first and last broken and badly abraded. Up to 3.2 cm of the top margin are extant; the intercolumnium is 2.5 cm. There is a kollesis

3.5 cm from the left-hand edge. Line-length varies from 12 to 18 letters, averaging 15–16 letters, so that column-height was originally 27–28 lines. The back is blank.

The hand is a large sloping Severe Style, comparable to Turner, *GMAW* no. 27 (XXVII 2452), LII 3656 which is assigned to AD ii/iii, or XXIII 2374. It is probably to be assigned to the second rather than the third century.

The same hand wrote the angular line-fillers, added punctuation consisting of high stop and paragraphus, and made corrections above the line (iii 5, 6) and within it by overwriting (iii 1). Elision and the writing of iota adscript are both intermittent (iii 8–9 *τηι ... ταυτη*).

In the way of variant readings, the papyrus offers mainly insignificant omissions (*τους* before *φυλάρχους* at ii 5; *ἔσται* at iii 3; *μὲν* at iii 6, added above the line in the wrong place); at iii 1 *περὶ* is added unnecessarily before *τῶν χρημάτων*. Elsewhere, it sides three times with S against the vulgate (ii 10, iii 7; iii 5 *περανῶ* [FU] changed to *περαίνω* [S]).

Parts of §§ 26–7 (ii 1–16) and §§ 28–9 (iii 13–15, iv 1–4) are extant also in PGen. inv. 258 (see above p. 71).

## col. i

σαντας και ε]τρα  
τιωτας οικ]ειο]υς  
ωσπερ επο]πτας [των  
στρατηγου]μει]ων  
5 παρακατας]τη]α]ντας  
[επει νυν γε γελως]  
εσθ ωσ χρωμ]εθα  
τοις πραγ]μασι]ν ει  
γαρ εροιτο] τις υ]μας  
10 ειρηνην α]γε]τε  
ω ανδρες αθ]ηναιοι  
μα δι ουχ η]μεις γε

(§25)

## col. ii

πε]ρ γαρ οι π]λ]α]ττον  
τε]ε]τ]ου]ε]π]ηλι]γους  
εις] την [αγορα]ν χει  
ροτ]ο]νειτε [το]υ]ς τα

5 ξ]ιαρχους κ[αι] φυλαρ  
χ]ους ουκ επ[ι] τον>  
πολεμον ου γαρ ε > §27  
χ]ρηνη ω ανδρ[ε]ς αθη  
να[ιο]ι ταξιαρχους πα  
10 ρ [υμων]ν ιππ[α]ρχον  
παρ υ]μων αρχοντας  
οικ]ειους ειναι ιν ην  
ωσ α]ληθως της πολε  
ωσ η δ]υναμις· αλλ εις  
15 μιν λη]μνον τον πα  
ρ υμων ιπ]πα]ρχον δει

## col. iii

το δε πε]ρι των χρη  
ματων π]οσα και πο  
θεν μαλ[ιστα] ποθει  
τε ακου]σαι τουτο δη  
5 και περα]ν]ω· χρημα  
τα 'μει' τοιυνη [εστιν  
η τροφη ε]τηρ]εσιον  
μονον τηι δυ]ναμει  
ταυτη ταλαντ]α ενε  
10 νηκοντα και μικρον  
τι π]ρο]ς δεκα μιν ναυ  
ει τ]αχειαις] τετταρα  
κ]οντα ταλαντα ε]ι  
κ]οσιν εις την ναυ  
15 μ]ναι του μηνος εκας

(§28)

## col. iv

θ[ωσ εγνωκεν εγω §29

γα[ρ οίδα σαφως ο  
 τ[ι τουτ αν γενη  
 τα[ι προσποριει

## Col. i

- 4 στρατηγου]μεν[ων, as SFU, suits the space in **4319**: δρωμένων Blass after Liban. IV 275.22-3 F.  
 5 παρακατασ]τησα[ντας **4319**, as SF: -στησοντας U.  
 6 Illegible traces of three letters at line-end.  
 12 γε **4319**, if rightly read, SF: om. U.

## Col. ii

- 5-6 φυλαρχ[χ]ους **4319**: τοις φυλάρχους SFU, but the papyrus seems to have no room for τους. (According to Dindorf, τοις is omitted also in Paris. Coisl. 324.)  
 8-9 ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι **4319** SFU: ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι om. PGen (presumably it intended, or misunderstood, the standard abbreviation for the whole phrase, ὁ).  
 10 ἵππαρχον **4319** S: -χους PGen. F Hermog. III 303.23, cf. 316.14 Rabe: ἵππαρχον παρ' ἑμῶν om. U.  
 16 ἵππαρχον **4319**, as SFU. Nicole, in the first publication, thought that PGen. omitted the word; wrongly, see Hausmann I p. 34.

## Col. iii

- 1 πε[ρι των **4319**: τῶν SFU.  
 2-3 πο]θεν **4319**: πόθεν ἔσται SFU.  
 5 περανῶ (as FU) changed to περαίνω (as S).  
 5-6 χρημα]τα μεν τῶννυ [εστιν (μεν added by the first hand) **4319**: χρήματα τοίνυν· ἔστιν μὲν SFU.  
 7 εισηρέσιον **4319** S: εισηρέσιον τοῖς στρατενομένοις FU.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

**4320. DEMOSTHENES IV 46-47**

15 2B.40/C(a)

Fr. I 7.0 × 19.5 cm

Third century

Twenty six lines from one column, lacking only a few letters at the line-ends, with *In Phil.* I 46-7. There is 5 cm of the top margin extant and 1.3 cm of the left-hand intercolumnium, although not for the full height of the fragment. A smaller fragment in the same hand remains unplaced. The back is blank.

The hand is an example of the sloping Severe Style, comparable to Turner, *GMAW* no. 32 (XXVII **2458**) or Seider, *Pal. gr. Pap.* II no. 33, both of which are assigned to the third century. Letters are medium-sized, bilinear except for the descenders of κ, ρ, υ and ψ, and a tendency to continue the upper stroke of δ above the line; ε, θ, ο and ς are noticeably smaller than the other letters.

Punctuation used is the middle stop and paragraphus; these, and the diaeresis, are all by the same hand which has also made a cancellation and superscript correction in line 17. Another superscript correction, the addition of ἄν at line 10, is noticeably

smaller and may be by a second hand; another, in line 2, is larger but more cursive. Elision is sometimes made and sometimes not. Iota adscript is generally written.

The text offers one unique variant, ψευδάμενοι for ψευδόμενοι in lines 12-13; ψηφίζεσθε corrected to ψηφίζησθε in line 17 cannot be regarded as anything but a scribal error (repeated in F). At two places where A offers an extra word, the papyrus sides once with it (11) and once against it (16).

Part of § 46 (fr. I. 11-13) is extant also in **1810**; part of § 47 (fr. I. 18-23) in **4314** fr. 6.

## Fr. I

και] φησαι· και τον  
 δευνα αιτίασθα[ι  
 και τον δευνα ες[τι  
 τα δε πραγματα [ε  
 5 κ τουτων απολωλ[εν·  
 οταν γαρ ηγητα[ι  
 μεν ο στρατηγο[ς  
 αθλιων απομ[ι  
 σθων ξενων· οι δ [υ  
 10 περ ων ἄν' εκεινος  
 αν εκε[ι] πραξ[η]ι  
 προς ὑμας ψευσα  
 μενοι ραιδιως ε[ν  
 θαδ ωσιν· ὑμει[ς  
 15 δ εξ ων αν ακουσι[η  
 τε ο [τι] αν τυχη[η  
 ψηφ[ι]ζ[ε]σθε τι [και  
 χρη προς]δοκαν [πωσ  
 ουν ταυτ]α παυσε[ται  
 20 οτ]αν ὑμεις ω α[ν  
 δρ]εσ αθηναιοι τ[ρους  
 α]ντους αποδειξ[η]τε  
 στρα[τι]ωτας κα[ι  
 μ]αρτυ[ρ]ασι των στ[ρα  
 25 τ]ηγουμένων κ[αι] δι  
 κα[ς] οικαδ [ελ

(§46)

Fr. 2 (unplaced)

§47

## Fr. 1

- 2 *αιτιασθα*[ι corrected it seems by the addition of *ac* above the line: *αιτιασθαι* ut vid. F<sup>1</sup>: *αιτιασασθαι* SA.  
 6 *ηγηται* 4320 S γρ. F mg. A: *ηττηται* (γ written above the first η) F text.  
 8 *αθλιων απομιεθων* 4320 SA: litt. β α transp. F.  
 10–11 υ]περ ων αν εκεινος αν, the first αν added, perhaps by a second hand, with no sign that the second was deleted: *υπερ ων αν εκεινος* SFA.  
 11 *εκει* 4320 A: om. SF.  
 12–13 *ψευσ[α]μενοι: ψευδομενοι* SFA.  
 15 *αν* 4320 AF: om. S.  
 16 *τυχ[η]*: spacing would permit either *τυχη* (F) or *τυχητε* (S), but not *τυχη ραιδιως* (A).  
 17 *ψηφίζεσθε* altered to *ψηφίζησθε*: similarly in F: *-ζησθε* SA.  
*και* 4320 (to judge from the space) SF: om. A.  
 20 Only the foot of υ survives, but presumably it was marked with diaeresis as in 12 and 14.  
 21–2 *τους αυτους αποδειξητε* 4320 SFA: *αποδειξητε τους*] *αυτους* 4314.

## Fr. 2

- 1 Traces only; second a rounded letter.  
 2 .τi or .τ, or .π?  
 4 First letter the hasta of pi or perhaps nu.  
 7 After rho a rounded letter?  
 8 Traces of tops of letters only.  
 A word search of *In Phil.* I and the other Philippic speeches, using the Ibycus Scholarly Computer, has yielded a partial match with *In Phil.* I 41:

και στρατηγεισθ' υπ' εκεινου, βεβουλε]υσθε[ δ' οδδεν  
 αυτοι συμφ]ερον[ περι του πολεμου, οδδεν προ]μα[των  
 προσ]ρα[τ' οδδεν, πριν αν η γεγενημενον η γιγνομενον τι  
 πυθησθε.

However it is clear that the extreme variation in word order must mean that this is not a persuasive match.

## 4321. DEMOSTHENES IV 47–51

4 1B.61/H(g)

Fr. 1 10.5 × 17.5 cm

Second century

Fragments of three adjacent columns in a largish rounded hand of the second century similar to those of XVIII 2159–64 + XX 2245–55 and PSI 1212. The lines had an average of 16 letters; the columns, of 40–41 lines, measured 5.5 cm × 21 cm and were 1.5 cm apart, with a margin of at least 1.5 cm at the head and 3 cm at the foot. This was the end of the roll (below the short col. iii is a blank, and traces probably from the decoration of an end-title); the whole speech would have occupied some 26 columns, rather less than 2 m of papyrus. The back is blank.

The original scribe wrote some space-fillers at line-end. Another hand, thick and messy, has punctuated the text throughout in a paler ink that in places has almost faded away; as the surface is also in a poor state, the details are sometimes uncertain, and the absence of punctuation at any point in the transcript does not imply that there

never was any. The punctuation consists of accents (´, `), and ^, usually spanning both vowels), breathings (̄ and ̅, in diphthongs sometimes clearly on the second vowel, at other times intermediate), and short-mark; diastole between words, apostrophe after οδκ, high, middle (4, 17, 28) and low stops, and hyphen in prepositional compounds. None of this is unusual in itself: see Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> pp. 7–12. But we rarely find even a verse text so fully marked up; in prose, such elaborate preparation, and especially the frequent use of diastole, suggests that the text had been prepared for school use, although it is prima facie a regular book roll, not an extract or exercise. On such preparation, see R. Criboire, *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Diss. Columbia, 1993) 102. In order to convey the full effect, the transcript which follows is printed without the conventional word-spaces.

Parts of the same sections appear also in 1810 (corresponding to 1–15, 22–4, 31–4, 46–52, 92–4), and in PWashUniv II 66 (corresponding to 1–12 and 68–84).

col. i

στρατηγωνεκ]αστοσδ̄ις,  
 καιτρικρινε]ταιπαρ'υ>  
 μινπεριθ]ανατο[υ]προς,  
 δετουςεχ]θρουσ[ου]δ̄εις,  
 5 ουδαπαξαυ]των[αγ]ω>  
 νικασθαιπερι]θαγατου,  
 τολμαιαλλατοντ]ων  
 [ανδραποδιστωνκαι]  
 [λωποδυτωνθανατον].  
 10 [μαλλοναιρουνταιτου]  
 [προσηκοντοσκακουργου]  
 μενγαρεστι]κρη[θε]ν  
 τααποθανει]ν·στρατη  
 γουδεμαχομ]ενον,τοις  
 15 πολεμοιση]μων,δ'ο]ι,  
 μενπεριοντ]εσ,μετα  
 λακεδαμονι]ων,φασι,  
 φιλιππονπρ]αττειν  
 τηνηβαιων]καταλυ  
 20 σινκαιτασπολι]τ̄ειας  
 διασπανοιδω]σπρε[ε]  
 σβειςπεπομφεν]ωσ,βα

§48

98      κιλεαοιδενιλλυ]ρίοις,  
           πολειστειχιζεινοι]δε  
 25      λογουςπλαττοντε]ς,  
           εκαστοςπ]ερ]ξ]ερ]χ[ο]με  
           θαεγωδο]ιδ]μαι,μεν                   §49  
           ωανδρες]αθηναιοι  
           [νητουςθεουσεκει]  
 30      νομεθυειντωμε]γε  
           θειτωνπεπραγ]μένων  
           καιπολλατοιαυτ]α,ον(π. 2)ει  
           ροπωλειεντη]ς,γνω  
           μηιτηντερη]μίαν  
 35      τωνκωλυσοντ]ων,  
           ορωντακαιτ]οις  
           πεπραγμενο]ις,  
           επηρμενον],οὔ,  
           μεντοιγεμαδιου]τω,  
 40      προαιρειςθαιπρατ]τειν  
   col. ii  
           ωστε,τους,ανοητ]ο  
           τατους,των,παρ]ηρ]ιν  
           ειδέναι,τι,μέλλει,πο[ι  
           ειν,εκεινος,ανοητο  
 45      τατοι,γαρ,είειν,οι,λ[ο] . .  
           γοποιούντες,·ἀλλ'αν,ἄ                   §50  
           φέντες,ταῦτα,·ἐκε[ι]νο  
           ειδῶμεν,·ὅτι,ἐχθρος  
           ἄνθρωπος,·καὶ,τα,ἡμε  
 50      τερ]ῆμασ]ἀπὸ[στ]ερεῖ,  
           και,χρονο]νπολ]υν[υ  
           βρικεν,και,πανθ]οσα  
           πώποτ]ῆλπίσαμε[ντι  
           νά,πράξειν,ὑπερ,ημ[ων  
 55      καθ]ημων,εὔρητα[ι  
           και,τα,λοιπα,·ἐν,ἡμιν,α[υ

          τοις,ἔστιν,·καν,μη,νυν,  
           ἐθέλωμεν,·ἔκει,πολε  
           μεῖν,αὐτωι,ἐνθάδ'ἴσως  
 60      ἀναγκαθης[ο]μεθα,·τοῦ  
           το,ποιεῖν,·εἴ[ν]ταῦτα,εἰ  
           δώμεν·και,ταδέοντα,  
           ἐς[ο]μεθε]γνωκ[ό]τε[σ  
           και,[λ]ογων,ματαίων,·α  
 65      πηλλαγμένοι,·οὔ,γαρ,  
           ἄττά,πὸτ'ἔσται,δει,σκο  
           πεῖν,·ἀλλ'·ὅτι·φαῦλα,·ἔ  
           αν,[μηπροσεχη]τε,τογ  
           νου[νκαιταπρος]ήκο[ν  
 70      [ταποιεωεθελητευ]  
           ειδε[ναιεγωμενον                   §51  
           οὐκ'ἄλ[λοτεπωποτε  
           προς,χ[αρινειλομην  
           λεγει]νοτιανμηκαι  
 75      σῶν]οισεινπεπειμε  
           νο[σωνυθαγιγ]νω  
           ς[κωπανθαπλ]ως,·ου  
           δ[ενυποστειλά]μενος  
           πε[παρρησι]ασμαι,·ἐβ[ο]υ  
 80      λο[μηνδα]ν,·ὥς,περ,ὅ  
           τι, ὑμιν,ς[υμφ]έρει,·το,τα,  
   col. iii  
           βελτις]ταἄκο[υεινοιδα  
           ουτως]εἰδέν[αιουνοιον  
           καιτωι]τα,·β[ελτις]τα  
 85      [ειποντιπολλωιγαρ]  
           [ανηδιονειχονων]  
           δεπαδηλ]ο[ις],[ουσι  
           το]ις,απο,τουτω[νεμαι  
           τωι,γενησομέν]οις  
 90      μως,ἐπ[ι]τωσ[υνοισειν

υμιν, ἐ[ανπραξήτεται  
 τα, πεπε[ιθ]α[ιλεγειναι  
 ρού[μ]αι[νικ]ώη, [δοτιπασι  
 μελ]λει, σύνο[ι]ς[ειν

*Lectional signs* Accents sometimes appear over consonants, either from constraints of space or apparently by anticipation (see 15, 42) 1 δις or perhaps δις 13 στρατη: below left upright of η ink shaped like a small c: blot? 15 η]λων rather than η]μων or η]μων, cf. 42 18 πρ]άττειν or possibly πρ]άττειν 21 ω]ς or possibly ω]ς, 26 ἐρχ or possibly ἐρχ 44 ρος, or possibly ρος· or ρος·, ἀρη: unexplained ink above η 45 εἴω: horizontal mark above ε (i.e. εἴω or εἴω?) 50 τερ' or possibly τερᾶ 53 ποτ': unexplained ink above π 54 πράξεν or possibly πράξεν 58 ἔκει: breathing and accent uncertain 59 ἔω: some ink not explained, perhaps smooth breathing or short-mark as well 61 εἶ[ν: short-mark uncertain (most of the ink comes above ε), perhaps εἶ[ν or εἶ[ν or εἶ[ν 62 δέοντα: sign above ο, δ or δ? 65 αγμένοι: ink above α, α̃ or α̃? 67 ε: unexplained blob of ink below 73 προς: unexplained ink to top right of ε 75 σύν: presumed short-mark narrow and blotted 76 ]ρω: unexplained ink above and below (see on 77) 77 ου: ink above, οὐ? 94 σύν: short-mark vestigial, but cf. 75.

17-8 Φιλιππὸν φασί Α.

22-3 ὡς βασιλέα 4321 1810 SA: ὡς πρὸς βασιλέα F.

27 οἴομαι 4321 A: οἴμαι SF.

34-38 These lines seem to have been shorter than 39-40, more than could be accounted for by any typical irregularity of the left-hand margin (cf. ii 25 ff., which project one letter to the left of the lines preceding). It may be that the papyrus had a longer text, and that the traces at the ends of 35-8 should be differently interpreted.

39 γε om. A, post οὐτω transp. Cobet (but 40 is more than full without it).

46 ἂν 4321 S: ἂν FA.

47 ἐκε[ι]νο or possibly ἐκεῖν' 4321: ἐκείνο SF: ἐκείνα A.

48 εἰδόμεν 4321 SF: ἰδόμεν F<sup>1</sup>: ἴδωμεν A.

52 πάνθ' 4321 A: ἅπανθ' SF.

56-7 ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς 4321 FA: αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν S.

67-8 ἂν 4321 SF: ἂν A.

68-9 τὸν νοῦν 4321 PWashUniv S: τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν FA.

70 ποιεῖν 4321 (to judge from the space) S: συνοίσειν ἡμῖν FA. In PWashUniv the spacing is indecisive.

72 οὐκ 4321: οὐτε PWashUniv SFA.

75 συνοίσειν 4321 (to judge from the space) S: συνοίσειν ἡμῖν FA. In PWashUniv the spacing is indecisive.

81 τὸ τὰ 4321 FA (cf. *Prooem.* 26.2): τὰ S. In PWashUniv the spacing is indecisive.

90-3 In the margin to the left of these lines are the remains of a coronis.

91 ἂν 4321 F: ἂν SA.

93-4 πάσιν 4321 (to judge from the space) 1810 S: πᾶσιν ὑμῖν FA.

13 Below this line are 2 cm of blank papyrus; further down, in the right-hand margin of ii 60, an upright which presumably formed part of the ornamental border to an end-title.

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#### 4322. DEMOSTHENES V 13-14

8 1B.192/H(2-3)a

8.8 × 12.5 cm

Second century

Most of eleven lines from the foot of a column, with a left-hand margin of 2 cm and a bottom margin of 6 cm. On the back, written across the fibres, are the remnants of eight lines of an account or register, in a second century cursive hand.

The text is written in a well-made, rounded book-hand of medium size, somewhat comparable to PRyl I 60 (pl. X), which has been assigned to a date c. 200 AD or later (Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> pp. 38, 148 n. 19), except that the letters there are larger and more finely drawn. Many letters are ornamented with small serifs. The hand is probably to be dated to the middle or late second century. The scribe writes angular filler-marks at line-ends. There is no punctuation.

The text is typically eclectic. It disagrees twice with all the major manuscripts, in omitting δ' at the beginning of § 14, and in writing τούτοις for τούτους in 10 (simple error?); it may offer the accusative γεγενημένην (1), a reading conjectured by Reiske and attested only in two late MSS. It also agrees once with the rest against S (3), and once with the correctors of S and A against F and their original readings (8).

καῖρον η γεγενημε]νην  
 νυν δι ημας λυθην]αι πολ  
 λα γαρ προειμ[ε]θα ων υ  
 παρχοντων τοτ αν η νυν  
 5 ασφαλεστερος και ρα[ω]ν  
 ην ημειν ο πολεμος >  
 δευτερον οραν οπωσ §14  
 μη προαξομεθα ω ανδρες  
 αθηναιοι τους συγελη  
 10 λυθοτας τουτοις κ[αι] φα >  
 κοντας αμφικτυο[να]ς

1 ]νην 4322 (both space and trace suggest this rather than ννη), i.e. γεγενημένην as Pal. 113 Vind. 1 (coni. Reiske): γεγενημένη SFA.

3 προείμεθα 4322 FA: προείμεθα S.

7 δευτερον 4322: δεύτερον δ' SEA.

8 προαξόμεθα 4322 S corr. A corr.: προαξόμεθα S<sup>1</sup>FA<sup>1</sup>.

10 τουτοις 4322: τούτους SFA.

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#### 4323. DEMOSTHENES VI 1-2, 6-7

32 4B.7/H(1)

Fr. 1 5.5 × 6 cm

Third century

Three small fragments from a leaf of a codex. Frr. 1 and 2 are contiguous; fr. 3 does not joint, but fits below fr. 1 and to the right of fr. 2 (providing letters from the



latter part of ↓ 8–17). About 2 cm of the top margin survives. About 1 cm from the top on the right-hand page (↓) the title *KATA ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β* occurs, underlined at two points with curling decorative strokes and with *B* written double the size of the other letters.

The absence of the other margins makes it difficult to offer more than a guess at the original format of the codex. At 28–32 letters per line, line-length may be calculated at c. 10 cm. Assuming a one-column page, about 38 lines have been lost at the foot of the right-hand page (↓). This gives a column length of c. 55 lines in c. 27 cm. Dimensions exclude margins. Among the codices surveyed by E. G. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex* (1977), there are several with a written area of roughly the same dimensions and a similar number of lines per column (ibid. Table 16, nos. 8, 21, 46 [also Demosthenes], 106, 150, 205, 280, P69 [XXIV 2383, Luke], OT183). Like the present example, the majority are papyrus codices of the third century.

The hand is a Severe Style of a common type; small, neat, with letters well spaced; leaning very slightly to the right; bilinear except for the descenders of ρ, υ, φ and small ο, which is positioned high off the baseline; γ, ξ, and sometimes τ and χ are written with serifs. Comparable hands are L 3542 and LII 3655.

Iota adscript is not used, and scriptio plena is avoided. Apart from the marks used to separate title and text, there appears to be no punctuation. A second hand, rounded, sloping and informal (with αι ligatured) has made a supralinear addition at ↓ 17.

The papyrus is typically eclectic in the readings it offers. The omission of τούτο at → 3 is best regarded as a scribal error. At ↓ 9 it follows the vulgate tradition against the omission of εἰπεῖν by S, but at ↓ 17 it follows S against the other primary MSS in its omission of εἶναι: the supralinear addition of the verb by a second hand brings it into line with the vulgate. At → 4 it follows A against S in reading ταῦτα πάντα; at → 10, however, it follows S again in omitting τῶν ἄλλων after βέλτιον.

Parts of § 1 (↓ 1–6) are extant also in PAmh II 24, parts of §§ 6–7 (→ 1–16) in PRainCent 21 + PKöln IV 183.

↓ (right-hand page)

κατα [φιλι]ππου Β

οταν ω] ανδρες αθη[ν]αιοι λογοι [γιγνω  
ται πε]ρι ων φιλιππο[ς] πραττει κα[ι] βιαζε  
ται π[α]ρα την ε[ι]ρηνην [αει] τ[ους] υπερ  
5 ημων λογου[ς] και δικαιου[ς] κα[ι] φιλανθρω  
που]ς ορω φ[αινο]μενους κα[ι] λεγειν μεν  
απα]ντας α[ει] τα δεοντα δοκ[ου]ντας τους  
κατ[η]γορου[ν]τας φιλιπ[π]ου γ[ι]γνομενον  
δ ουδ]εν ως επος ει[πειν] των δεοντων

§1

10 ουδ ω]ν ενεκα τα[υτ] ακο]υειν αξιον αλλ εις §2  
τουτ ] ηδη προηγμ[ενα τ]υγχα[νει] παντα  
τα πρ]αγματα τ[η] πολ[ει] ωσθ [οσω] τις αν  
μαλλον] και φαν[ερωτε]ρον εξε[λεγχη] φιλιπ  
15 πον κα]ι την π[ρο]ς υμ]α[ς] ειρ[ηνην] παρα  
βαινον]τα και π[α]σι το]ις ελλ[η]σιων επιβου  
λευοντα το]σούτω το τ]ι χρη π[ο]ιειν συμ  
βουλευσαι χαλεπωτερον] `ειναι` [

→ (left-hand page)

Αθηναιο]ι θαρρει ο[ρ]ων ηλικος η[δη] και ο  
ων κυρι]ος εστι φιλιππος και μηδε[να  
οιεται κ]ινδυνον φερ[ει]ν τ[η] πολ[ει] μηδ  
εφ υμας] ταυτ[α] παντα [παρα]σκευα[ζεσθαι]  
5 θαυμαζ]ω και δεηθη[ναι] παντων [ομοι  
ως υμ]ων βουλ[ομαι] τους λο]γιςμο[υ]ς ακου  
και μο]υ δια β[ρα]χεων δι ο]υς τανα[ντι] ε  
μοι πα]ρεστη[κε] π[ρο]δοκαν και [δι]ων  
εχθρον] ηγουμ[αι] φι]λιππον ιν[α] εαν μεν  
10 εγω δοκ]ω βελ[τιον] προοραν εμ[οι] πεισθητε  
αν δ οι] θαρρου[ντες] και πεπι[στευκοτες]  
αυτω του]τοις π[ρο]σθη]σθε ε[γ]ω τ[οι]ωνν ω §7  
ανδρες α]θηναιοι λογι]ζομαι τ[ι]νων ο φι  
λιππος κυ]ριος π[ρ]ωτον] μετα [την] ειρηνην  
15 κατεστη] πυλων [και τω]ν ε[ν] φωκευσι  
πραγματ]ων τι ο[υ]ν πως τουτοις εχρησατο

↓

1 The initial title also in PAmh.

9 ἔπος εἰπεῖν 4323 FA: εἰπεῖν om. S.

10 ἔνεκα 4323 SA: εἵνεκα F.

17 εἶναι inserted by a second hand. χαλεπώτερον S: χαλεπώτερον εἶναι S rec. FA.

→

3 φερ[ει]ν 4323: φέρειν τοῦτο PRainCent SFA.

4 ταῦτα πάντα 4323 A: πάντα ταῦτα F: πάντα S.

10 βέλτιον **4323** S: βέλτιον τῶν ἄλλων S rec. FA (and perhaps PRainCent + PKöln, to judge from the space, but the lacunas there are so large that any such argument is bound to be uncertain).  
12 π[ροσθη]εθε **4323** (to judge from the space) FA: προσθήεθε S.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

**4324.** DEMOSTHENES VI 25–26

10 1B.160/J(b)

5.3 × 3.2 cm

First century

A small fragment with the ends of 7 lines and a right-hand margin of 1.3 cm. There is what appears to be a sheet-join 1.5 cm in from the left-hand edge. The back is blank.

The hand is a round upright book hand, with small neat letters, bilinear except for slight downward extension of *ι* and *υ*. It is broadly similar to LII **3657** (pl. II), which was assigned to the second century; but some features (*a* in the capital shape, *ε* broad with detached cross-bar, *υ* made sometimes with three strokes, its bowl wide and shallow) suggest comparison with scripts like Roberts, *GLH* 10b (AD 30–35). A date in the first century is likely.

A high almost horizontal dash indicates the end of a sentence (3); the colour of the ink suggests that this is the work of a second hand.

There is one error of omission (6–7).

πως εφην] μη πολεμου ζη  
 τουντες] απαλλαγηναι  
 δεσποτην] ευρητε' ταυτα §26  
 ακουσαντ]εσ εκε[ινοι] και θο  
 5 ρυβουν]τες ω[σ ορθ]ως  
 λεγεται κα]ι πο[λλους] ετε  
 ρους παρα] τω[ν πρεσβειων  
 ]. [

2–3 ἀπαλλαγῆναι ... εὔρητε **4324** SFA: ἀπαλλαγῆν ... εὔρήσετε Cobet.

3 A mark like a grave accent after ταυτα, perhaps by the second hand.

6–7 ετε[ρους: ἐτέρους λόγους SFA, but **4324** has no room for λόγους (the omission presumably due to homoeoteleuton: the scribe skipped from -ουc to -ουc).

7 παρὰ **4324** (to judge from the space) SF: καὶ παρὰ A, for which there is no room.

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**4325.** [DEMOSTHENES] VII 26

18 2B.71/E(4)a

3.7 × 6.5 cm

Third century

Ends of ten lines, with up to 1.5 cm of the right-hand margin. The back is blank. A typical example of the Severe Style, the hand is medium-sized and angular,

slanting very slightly to the right; verticals of *υ* and *φ* extend well below and, in the case of *φ*, well above the line; *ο* is noticeably smaller than the other rounded letters; no ligatures except occasionally from *α* and *ε* to following *ι*. A somewhat comparable hand is L **3542**.

The original scribe wrote wedge-shaped line-fillers (1), and punctuation by high stop (2, 5). Line-length is from 17 to 20 letters and, to judge from the number of letters lost at the start of the lines, elision was sometimes made, sometimes not. Movable *υ* is omitted at sentence-end in line 5.

At 4, the papyrus sides with FY against SA.

Part of the same section (lines 1–7) is extant also in PLaur IV 135.

ιτε φησι δ αμφι]πο > (§26)  
 λιν εαυτου ει]ναι υμαc  
 γαρ ψηφιαc]θαι εκεινου  
 ειναι οτ εψη]φιζεθε  
 5 εχειν αυτον] α ειχε υμειc  
 δε το μεν ψη]φικμα του  
 τ εψηφιαcθ ου] μεντο[ι] γ ε  
 κεινου ειναι] αμφι]πο  
 λιν εστι γαρ εχε]ιν κα[ι  
 10 τα αλλοτρια και ο]υχ απ[αν

4 εψηφίζεθε **4325** Y, F (with *ca* written above ζε): εψηφίαθε SA.

5 εχειν **4325** (to judge from the spacing), SFAY: α[πε]χειν PLaur 135.

7 Spacing suggests that elision was made.

10 Spacing suggests *scriptio plena*.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

**4326.** DEMOSTHENES VIII 14–21

15 2B.43/E(c)

9.5 × 19.5 cm

Third century

Three contiguous fragments from a page of a single-column codex, with 40 lines extant on the front (→) and 38 on the back (↓). Line-length varies from 19 to 27 letters, with a mean of 22–23; 8–9 lines are therefore missing from the bottom of the column on the front, giving an original column-height of 48–49 lines. In this format the speech would have occupied about 20 columns. The top margin survives to 2 cm on each side

and the outer margins to 1.5 cm. The original dimensions of the page, assuming a bottom margin of the same depth as the top, will have been a minimum of 11 × 25 cm, which would put the codex squarely within the range of Group 8 on E. G. Turner's typology (*The Typology of the Early Codex* 20 and cf. 24).

The text is written in an informal square hand, bilinear, with well-spaced, small to medium-sized letters. Paris suppl. gr. 1120 (Turner, *Typology* pl. 2) or PRyl III 463 (Roberts, *GLH* pl. 20c) are comparable, except that the letters are drawn with a thicker pen here and are not so closely packed. Both these texts are assigned to the third century.

Iota adscript and movable nu are sometimes written, sometimes not (movable nu before consonants: →18, 25, 26). Elision too is only occasionally made (*scriptio plena* →14). The only mark of punctuation is what appears to be a high stop at ↓29, although a space left at →13 is perhaps to be taken as indicating the start of the new sentence. A rough breathing at ↓26. At →3 and 12 final nu at line-end is written as a superscript dash. Supralinear corrections by the original hand (→16, ↓24, 26).

The papyrus offers three unique variants, none of them worth much: ἀμύνεσθαι for ἀμυνείεσθαι →26; προσκατασκευάζειν for προσπαρασκευάζειν ↓13; τῆς πόλεως τοὺς συναγωνιζομένους for τῆς πόλεως συναγωνιζομένης ↓23. There are also three careless omissions of particles (→20, 25, 27), and two itacistic spellings (↓10, 32). In other places the papyrus shows a typically eclectic character, sometimes supporting S against the other MSS, or one or more of them, and sometimes supporting the majority against a single MS.

Parts of §§ 18–20 (↓5–19) are also attested in **4327**.

→

κεδονίας και θετταλιας] ξαν ουν

περιμεινας τους ετησια]ς επι βυ

ζαντιον ελθων πολιορκη] πρωτῶ

μεν οιεσθε τους βυζαντι]ους με

5 νειν επι της ανοιας τη]ς αυ[της ωσπ]ερ

νυν και ουτε παρα]καλε[σειν υμ]ας

ουτε βοηθειν αυτ]οις αξιωσ[ειν

εγω μεν ουκ οιομαι α]λλα [και] ει τι

§15

κι μαλλον απιστ]ουςιν η ημιν

10 και τουτ]ο]υς ει[σφ]ρησσειν μαλ

λον η εκεινωι παραδωσειν την

π]ο]λιν εανπερ μη φθαση λ[αβ]ῶ

αυ]τους ουκουν ημων μ[εν μ]η

δυναμενων ενθενδε αναπ[λε]ν

15 και εκει δε μηδε[μι]α[ς υπ]αρχου

της ετοιμου βοηθει]ας [ο]υδ' εν' αυ

τους απολωλεναι κωλ]υ]σει νη

§16

δια κακοδαμμουσιν γα]ρ] αν

θρωποι κ[αι] υπερβαλ[λουσιν] ανοι

20 αι πανν γε ομως α[ν]τ]ου]ς [δει σω

ς εινα[ι] συ]μφερει γα]ρ] τη πολ]ει και

μη[ν ουδ εκ]εινο γε δηλο]ν εσ]τιν

ημιν ως ε]πι χερρ[ο]νησ[ον ου]χ [ηξ]ει

αλλ ει γ εκ] της επιστολης δει [ς]κο

25 πε[ν] ης ε]πε[μ]ψεν προς [υμα]ς

αμυνασθαι φησιν τους εν χ[ε]ρρο

νησιν εαν τοιωνν η το συ]νεν

§17

τηκος στ]ρατευμα και τη χ[ω]ρ[α]

βοηθησ[α]ι] δυνησεται και των [ε

30 κεινου τ]ι] κακως ποιησαι ει δε

απαξ διαφθαρησεται και δια]λυ

θ]ησεται τ]ι] ποιησομεν εαν επι

χερρονησ[ον] ηη κρινουμε]ν

διοπ[ειθη]ν]η δια και τι τα πρα

35 γματ] [εσται βελτιω αλλ] [εν

θενδ' [αν βοηθησασμεν αυτοι αν

δ [υ]π[ο] των πνευματων μη δυναω

μεθα α]λλο μα δι ουχ ηξει

§18

κα]ι] τ]ις εγγυητης εστι του

40 τ]ο]υ αρ] [ορατε και λογιζεσθε

. . . . .

↓

. . . [

π [ωρ]ε[ον] πρωην ποτερον κρειτ

τον ε]νθαδε αυτον αμυνεσθαι

και π[ροσελθειν] τον πολεμον

5 π[ρος] τη]ν αττικην εασαι η κα

τασκευαζε]ν εκει τινα ασχολιαν

α]υτῶι εγω [μεν οιομαι τουτο ταυ §19  
 τα τοινυν [απαντας ειδοτας και  
 λ[ογι]ζομε[νου]ς χρη μα δι ουχ [ην  
 10 δ[ιο]πειθης πειραται δυναμε[ιν  
 τη]ι πολει παρα[ς]κεναζειν ταυτην [βασ  
 κ[α]ιν[ειν] κ[αι] δ[ια]λυειν πειρα[ς]θαι α[λλ] ε  
 τ[ε]ραν αυ[τους] π[ρο]σκατασκευαζειν  
 κ[αι] σ[υ]ν[ευπορου]ντας εκεινωι χρημ[α]  
 15 των [και τα αλλα] ο[ι]κειως συναγω[νι  
 ζομε[νους] ει γαρ] τις εροιτο φιλιπ[πον  
 ειπε μοι ποτερ αν] βουλοιο τουτου[ς]  
 τους στρατιω[τα]ς ο[υ]ς διοπειθης νυ[ν] ε  
 χει τους ο[π]ο[ι]ους τινασουν ουδ[εν]  
 20 γαρ] αντι[λεγω ευ]θενε[ιν] και] παρα [αθη  
 ν[αι]οις] εϋδ[ο]ξειν και π[λειους] γιννεσ  
 θαι] της πολεως τους [συναγω]ν[ι]ζο  
 μενους η διαβα[λ]λον[των] τιν[ων] και  
 κατηγο[ρου]ν[των] διασπασθ[η]ναι και δι  
 25 αφθ[αρηναι] τ[α]ντα οιμαι φησειεν  
 ε]ιθ[α] φ[ιλιππος] αν[ε]ξαίτο τοις θε[ο]  
 οι[ς] τα[υ]θη μων [τ]ινε[ς] ενθαδε προ[ατ  
 το]υσι εν ε]τα ετι ζη[τει]τε ποθεν τ[α]  
 τη]ς πολε[ω]ς απ[ο]λ[ω]λεν απαντα· [βου  
 30 λο]μα[ι] τοινυν υ[μ]α[ς] μ[ε]τα παρρησι  
 ας] εξε[τα]σα[ι] τα] παροντα πραγμ[α]  
 τα] τη[ι] π[ο]λει κ[αι] σ[υ]ν[ε]κ[ε]ψασθε τι π[οι  
 ου]με[ν] αυτ[ο]ι [νυν και οπω]ς χρωμ[ε]  
 θ αυτοις ημ[ε]ι[ς] ουτε χρημ[α]τα ει[ς]  
 35 φερειν βο]υ[λομεθα] ουτ αυ]τοι στρ[α]  
 τευεσθαι τολμωμ[ε]ν ουτε τ[ων] κ[οι  
 νων] απεχεσθαι δυναμεθα ου]τε τ[α]ς  
 συνταξεις διοπειθει διδομ[ε]ν ο[υ]θη

→ 5 τῆς ἀνοίας τῆς αὐτῆς 4326 SF: τῆς αὐτῆς ἀνοίας AY.

- 6 Spacing suits παρακάλεσεν SFAY, rather than Cobet's παρακαλεῖν.  
 7 Spacing favours βοηθεῖν (FAY), although βοηθήσειν (S) cannot be excluded.  
 8 Spacing allows either οἶομαι (SA) or οἶμαι (FY).  
 11 ἐκείνῳ 4326 FAY: κείνῳ S: κείνῳ Bekker.  
 12 εἰς 4326: ἄνπερ SFAY.  
 18 κακοδαίμονόσι 4326 SFAY Hermog. 313.14, 356.23 Rabe: κακοδαίμονόσι H. Wolf, editors.  
 20 πάντ 4326 SFAY: εφόδρα Hermog.  
 ὅμως 4326: ἀλλ' ὅμως SFAY.  
 26 ἀμύναςθαι 4326: ἀμύνεσθαι SFY: ἀμύνεσθαι A.  
 27 εἰς 4326: ἄν SFAY.  
 τοῖνυν 4326: μὲν τοῖνυν SFAY.  
 28 στρατεύματα 4326 S: τοῦτο στρατεύματα FAY.  
 31 διαφθαρήσεται καὶ 4326 FY: om. SA.  
 34 Spacing allows either Διοπέιθην (SA) or Διοπέιθη (S corr. FY).

↓

- 1–2 ἐπ' Ὀρεὸν πρόην 4326 SAY: πρόην ἐπ' Ὀρεὸν F.  
 9 μὰ Δι' 4326 SFAY: οὐ μὰ Δι' 4327 S eras.  
 10–11 δύναμιν τῆ πόλει 4326 AY: τῆ πόλει δύναμιν 4327 SF.  
 11–12 The lines seem unusually long.  
 11 παρασκευάζειν 4326 4327 SAY: κατασκευάζειν F before correction.  
 12 διαλύειν 4326 FAY: διαλύειν 4327 S.  
 13 π[ρο]σκατασκευαζειν 4326: προσπαρασκευαζειν 4327 SFAY.  
 17 βούλοιο 4326 SFAY: βουλοιο 4327.  
 18 νῦν 4326 4327 SFAY: om. F<sup>1</sup>.  
 22–3 τους [συναγω]ν[ι]ζομενους 4326: συναγωνιζομένης SFAY.  
 25 τ[α]ντα οιμαι 4326: ταῦτ' ἄν οἶμαι SFA (τοῦτ' changed to ταῦτ' F: τοῦτο Y).  
 27 ἡμῶν 4326 SF: ἡμῶν AY Hermog. 178.12 Rabe.  
 30 υ[μ]α[ς]: ὑμᾶς SFAY: om. U, secl. Ruediger: πρὸς ὑμᾶς Vind. 1, Felicianus.  
 32 κέψασθε 4326 F<sup>1</sup> A: κέψασθαι SY.  
 36 τολμώμ[ε]ν: τολμώμεν FAY: om. S.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

## 4327. DEMOSTHENES VIII 18–20

30 4B.36/H(6–9)b

4.5 × 14.5 cm

Third century

Two contiguous fragments give the top of a column with twenty three lines; 4.3 cm of the top margin are extant. A column number indicates that this was the twenty third column of the roll. Even assuming the minimum column-height of 23 lines, the earlier section of the speech would have occupied only 13 columns; assuming a height of 45 lines, only 6.5 columns. Originally therefore the roll will have contained more than *De Chersoneso*.

On the back, across the fibres, are remnants of 14 lines from a document of unidentified type mentioning artabas, written in an untidy third century cursive.

The text itself is written in a well-made book-hand of the Biblical Uncial type, comparable to PRyl III 542 (pl. IX=G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla Maiuscola Biblica* pl. 20). Strictly bilinear except for ρ, υ and sometimes τ, and a number of the letters are adorned

with small serifs. Iota adscript is written. The scribe marks elision by apostrophe in 13, and writes middle (11) and high (4, 5) stops. The column number in the top margin is written cursorily, presumably by a second hand.

The papyrus offers one unique reading, βούλοιτο for βούλοιο (21), and perhaps omits τούς from τούτους τούς στρατιώτας (21-2), presumably by haplography. It sides once against S on an orthographic point (4); with S at 9 (also F) and 12, and with the original reading of S at 7-8, all against 4326.

This portion of the text is attested also in 4326 ↓ 5-19.

(m. 2) κγ'  
 ρος] την αττικην εα  
 και η] κατασκευαζειν [ε  
 κει] τινα ασχολιαν  
 αυτω]ι· εγω μεν οιμα[ι  
 5 τουτ]ο· ταυτα τοινυν §19  
 απα]γτας ειδοτας και  
 λογιζ]ομενους χρη ου  
 μα δι]α ουχ ην διοπει  
 θης] πειραται τη πο  
 10 λει δ]υναμιν παρασκευ[υ  
 αζει]ν· ταυτην βα  
 σκαινειν] και διαλυσαι  
 πειρασθα]ι αλλ' ετεραν  
 αυτους προ]σπαρασκευ  
 15 αζειν και] συνευπορου[ν  
 τας εκειν]ωι χρηματω[ν  
 και ταλλ οικ]ειω[ε συ  
 ναγωνιζο]μενους [ει γαρ §20  
 τις ερο]ιτο φιλι[π  
 20 πον ειπέ] μοι ποτ[ερα  
 αν βου]λοιτο τουτ]ους τους  
 στρατι]ωτας ους δι[οπει  
 θης ν]υν εχει τ[ους ο

4 οίμαι 4327 FAY; οίομαι S.

7-8 ου [μα δι]α 4327, so S eras.: μὰ Δε' 4326 SFAY.

9 τῆ πόλει δύναμιν 4327 SF: δύναμιν τῆ πόλει 4326 AY.

10-11 παρασκευαζειν 4326 4327 SFAY: κατασκευαζειν F before correction.

12 διαλυσαι 4327 S: διαλυειν 4326 FAY.

20-21 Spacing seems to favour πότερα ἂν S F<sup>1</sup> γρ. Y rec. against πότερα F corr. AY<sup>1</sup>.

21 βου]λοιτο 4327: βούλοιο 4326 SFAY.

τούτους τούς SFAY. To judge from the space, 4327 may have omitted τους.

23 νῦν 4326 4327 SFAY: om. Y<sup>1</sup>.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

## 4328. DEMOSTHENES VIII 33-36

13 1B.125/D(a)

10.5 × 12.5 cm

Second century

The upper part of two columns, with 3.5 cm of the top margin and 0.7 cm of the left-hand margin extant. The intercolumnium is 2.0 cm. Line-length varies from 16 to 22 letters, with a mean of 17-18. Fifteen or sixteen lines have therefore been lost from the bottom of col. i, giving an original column-height of 30-31 lines. The back is blank.

The writing is a round book-hand of medium size, of the same type as Turner, *GMAW* no. 24 (XVIII 2161) and assignable to the same date; φ protrudes well above and below the line, α, δ and λ slightly above, and ρ and τ slightly below; α is made with a rounded bowl and ε and c are almost completely circular.

Punctuation consists of the high stop and paragraphus (by the first hand), and at i 2 a space marks the end of a period. A rough breathing of Turner's form 1 (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 11) is marked at i 15, perhaps by a second hand. Elision is sometimes made, sometimes not, and never marked.

The papyrus offers two peculiar readings: ἐν ἐκείνοις at i 1 is a variant on the vulgate's ἐν ἐκείναις, and at i 10 καὶ is omitted before τοῖς γιγνομένοις. At i 6 it sides with FAY against a careless omission of S; at ii 8 with SF against AY.

col. i

αντι]παλους εν εκεινοις  
 εσθ ο αγω]ν νυν δε δημα §34  
 γωγουντ]ες υμας και χα  
 ριζομενοι καθ υπερβο  
 5 λην ο[υ]τω διατεθεικακων·  
 ωστε [ε]ν μεν ταις εκκλη  
 ριας [τρ]υφαι και κολακευ  
 εσθαι παντ[α] προς ηδο  
 νην ακουο[υ]τας εν δε  
 10 τοις πραγμ[α]σι τοις γι  
 γνομενοις περι των

εσ]χατων [η]δη κινδυ  
 υ]ξειν· φερε γαρ προς  
 διος ει] λογον υμασ απα[ι  
 15 τηρειαν] οι ε[λ]ληνες ω[ν

## col. ii

νομε[νου τανθρωπου  
 και νοσ[ωι και χειμω  
 υ]ι κ[αι πολεμοις αποληφ  
 θ[εντος ωστε μη αν δυ  
 5 υ[ασθαι επανελθειν οι  
 κ[αδε ουτε την ευβοιαν  
 ηλ[ευθερωσατε ουτε §36  
 των υμ[ετερων αυτων  
 ουδεν ε[κομισαθε αλ  
 10 λ̄ ε[κ]ειν[ος μεν υμων

## Col. i

- 1 εν εκεινοις 4328: εν εκειναις FAY: εκεινος S.  
 2 Spacing favours ἐσθ' ὁ ἀγών (SFAY); ἐσθ' ἄγών Butcher.  
 5 διατεθείκασιν 4328 SFAY: -τεθήκασιν edd., in conformity with the practice of fourth century inscriptions (MacDowell on *Meid.* 173).  
 6 μὲν 4328 FAY: om. S.  
 7 τρ]ύφαν, the analogical misspelling of the infinitive.  
 10 τοις 4328: καὶ τοῖς SFAY.

## Col. ii

- 4-6 Traces only of first letters.  
 8 ὑμετέρων 4328 SF: ἡμετέρων AY.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

## 4329. DEMOSTHENES VIII 53, 57

2 1B.105/G(a)

Frr. 1 + 2 9 × 5 cm

Late second century

Three tattered fragments of two adjacent columns; the back is blank. The lines had an average of 24 letters; the columns, of 35 lines, measured about 5.5 × 20 cm and were 1.5 cm apart. If it contained only this speech, the roll would not have extended much beyond 6 feet (1.8 m).

The hand is a small specimen of the Severe Style; the broad letters are not conspicuously broad, and ω is well formed. The scribe uses iota adscript, the high point, and the *paragraphos*; space-filler at the end of i 4.

The text is devoid of interest. Two lines of it (ii 1-2) are represented also in 4330.

## Frr. 1 + 2

## col. i

το]υτοις (§53)  
 δ αι χαριτες και ο μικθος ο του]των·  
 εγω δ οιομαι την μεν ειρηνη]ν  
 αγειν ουχ υμασ δειν πειθ]ε[ι]ν οι >

## col. ii

εθα[ι παρ υμ]ων αν [τι λ]υπ[η]ς (§57)  
 θε τωι πο[λεμω]ι εις τ[ο]υς [υ]περ υ[μων  
 λεγοντας τα βελτιστα τ[ρεψαι  
 βουλονται [ι]να τ[ο]υτ[ους κρινητε  
 5 μη φιλιππον αμυνης[θε και κα  
 τηγορωσιν αυτοι· μη [δικην δω  
 κιν ων π[οιο]υσι νυν [τουτ αυτοις  
 δυνα[τ]α[ι] τ[ο] λεγειν ωσ [αρα βου  
 [λονται πολεμον τινεσ ποιησαι]  
 10 fr. 3 παρ υ]μειν και [περι τουτου η δια  
 δικα]κια αυτ[η]

## Col. i

1 stands a little below ii 1, which was probably the first of the column; a complete line may be lost above.

## Col. ii

1 As there is just enough undamaged papyrus above the first letter to have preserved a trace of anything written there, this line may well have begun the column.

2 θ is apparently written on α or λ. Either the scribe was slipping into λυπήσαι, or he was following the lineation of his exemplar and skipped to the beginning of line 3.

5-6 κα]τηγορωσιν αυτοι· μη [δικην (δε) δω]κιν 4329: κατηγορώσιν αυτοί, μη δίκην δάκιν S, recte: κατηγορώσι μὲν αυτοί, μη δίκην δὲ δάκιν FY: κατηγορώσι μὲν, αυτοί δὲ μη δίκην δάκωκιν A. The letter after

*αυτοι* looks more like *μ* than *δ*, but in any case the high point is decisive. As the *μ* comes under the *υ* of the line above, there is room for *δέ*, but the absence of *μέν* speaks against it.

10-11 *καὶ περὶ τούτου ἡ διαδικασία αὕτη ἐστὶν* del. Benseler.

M. D. REEVE

4330. DEMOSTHENES VIII 54-7, 59-61

21 3B.25/D(1-2)a

11 × 13.3 cm

Second century

A fragment from the middle of two columns in a small, rounded, fluent hand with occasional serifs, probably to be assigned to the second century. The lines had an average of 21 letters; the columns, of about 56 lines, measured about 5 × 25 cm and were 2 cm apart. The whole speech would have occupied rather over 4 feet (1.2 m). The speech is written across the fibres. On the front upside down in relation to the back, are remains of six lines of handsome cursive.

The scribe marks elision, writes iota adscript even when he should not, uses the *paragraphos*, and leaves a space at the end of a sentence; one initial *υ* is given a breathing and one *ῆ* an accent.

Two lines of the text (i 29-30) are represented also in 4329; ii 19 ff. in PBerol. 21284 (see p. 72) (iBC).

col. i

. . . η[.]ετ[ ]  
 τα χρηματα τ]ωι φυλακην ει  
 πειν δι ης] σωθησεται κω  
 λυειν ουχι τωι] του κυμφε  
 5 ροντος αφεσ]ταναι καιτοι ε §55  
 γωγ α]γανακτωι και αυτο  
 τουτο] ω ανδρες αθηναιοι  
 ει τα με]ν χρηματα λυπει  
 τινας υ]μων ει διαρπασθη  
 10 σεται α κ]α[ι] φυλαττειν και κο  
 λαζειν το]υς αδικουντας εφ'  
 υμιν εστι]ν την δ' ελλαδα  
 πασαν εφ]εξης ουτωσι φι  
 λιππος αρ]παζων ου λυπει

15 και ταυτ εφ] ημας αρπαζων  
 τι ποτ ουν] εστιν το αιτιον §56  
 ω ανδρες] αθηναιοι το τον  
 μεν ουτω] φανερωσ <σ>τρα  
 τευοντ α]δικουντα πολεισ  
 20 καταλαμβανο]ντα μηδενα  
 πωποτε τουτ]ων ε[ι]πειν  
 ως πολεμον ποιει του]ς δε  
 μη επιτρεπειν μη]δε προ  
 ιεσθαι ταυτα κυμβου]λευον  
 25 τας τουτους τον πολε]μον ποι  
 ειν αιτιασθαι εγ]ω διδαξω §57  
 οτι την οργην ην ει]κος εστι  
 γενεσθαι παρ υμων αν] τι λυπη  
 σθε τωι πολεμωι εις του]ς  
 30 ]·

col. ii

. . . [ ] . [ ] . [ ]  
 θιοις εξ αρχ]ης εως εν α[υτηι  
 τηι] χωραι το στρατ]ε]υμα [πα  
 ρην εχων η και τοτε το]υς  
 5 αμυνεσθα[ι] κελουοντα[ς πο  
 λεμον ποιει]ν φησ[ομ]εν  
 ουκουν υπολοιπον δου]λευ  
 ε[ι]ν ου γαρ αλλο γ' ουδεν εξ[τι  
 μεταξυ του μητ αμυνε]ς  
 10 θαι μητ' αγειν ηκυχιαν εα]σθαι §60  
 και μην ουχ ὑπερ των ις]ων  
 υμιν και τοις αλλοις εσθ' [ο  
 κινδυνος ου γαρ ὑφ αυτω]ι  
 την πολιν ποιησασθαι β[ου

15 λεται φιλιππος αλλ' ολω[ε  
 ανελειν οιδεν γαρ ακρ[ι  
 βως οτι δουλευειν μεν [υ  
 μεις ουτε θελησετε ο[υ  
 τε αν εθελη . . επισταθ[ε  
 20 αρχειν γαρ ειωθατε προ[α  
 γματα δ' αυτ[ωι] παρασχει[υ  
 α]ν καιρον λα[β]ητε πλειω  
 τ]ων αλλων ανθρωπω[ν α  
 πα]ντων δ[υν]ησεσθ[ε ως  
 25 ουν] ὑπερ τω[ν  
 ] . . [

§61

## Col. i

- 1 Above this, stripped fibres; perhaps a trace of ink on the underlayer.  
 1-2 διαρπαθήσεται τὰ χρήματα SFAY. ]εθη[ετ[αι could perhaps be read.  
 13-14 ἐφεξῆς οὕτως Φίλιππος 4330 FAY: οὕτως Φίλιππος ἐφεξῆς S.  
 15 ἡμᾶς 4330 SA: ἡμᾶς FY.  
 21 πώποτε τούτων 4330 FAY: τούτων πώποτ' S.  
 22 πόλεμον ποιεῖ 4330 (to judge from the space) S: ἀδικεῖ καὶ πόλεμον ποιεῖ FAY.  
 23 ἐπιτρέπειν μηδέ om. A.  
 25-6 ποιεῖν S: ποιῆσειν FAY. In 4330 the space would allow either.

## Col. ii

- 2 ἕως ἐν 4330 SF: ἕως ἀν ἐν AY.  
 4 Editors rightly print ἦ. Perhaps an ancient reader understood this as the emphatic interrogative ἦ καί.  
 But there are other places where an η that we should certainly regard as disjunctive receives the circumflex;  
 see the papyrus of *Ichneutae*, 1174 xii 5 (twice), 7.  
 10 The traces at the end of the line are consistent with α but do not demand it; εασθαι would not have  
 made the line as much longer than the next as appears at first sight.  
 12 ἡμῖν 4330 F: ἡμῖν S: ἡμῖν τε AY.  
 19 ἐπίστασθε 4330 FY: ἐπιστήσεσθε PBerol. (]σεσθε) SA. Before it the manuscripts agree on (ἐ)θελήσητε,  
 for which there is not room in 4330; presumably it had εθελήσητε.  
 23-4 ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων PBerol. ([αλλων ανθρωπων απαν]των) 4330 FAY: ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων S.

M. D. REEVE

## 4331. DEMOSTHENES VIII 68-69

93/Jan. 1/A(4)

3.4 × 5.8 cm

First/second century

The middle part of ten lines from the head of a column; 0.6 cm of the upper margin is extant. The back is blank.

Written in a small, neat, informal rounded hand; strictly bilinear except for the

occasional projection of α above the line; ι ν π τ and υ have well-marked serifs; λ μ and π are sometimes ligatured to the following letter. Comparable hands are XV 1791 and II 221, assigned to the first and second centuries respectively by Grenfell and Hunt; a date of i/ii AD here is supported by comparing the letter-forms of XXV 2435 (Turner, *GMAW* no. 57), datable after AD 18/19, and VI 854 (pl. I), datable after mid ii AD.

Line-length may be calculated at 27-32 letters. This gives a fairly wide column of c. 7 cm, which accords well with the hypomnema-like character of the hand. The scribe has made a correction in line 4, but too little survives to determine whether he also added any punctuation.

The papyrus agrees in 3 with FAY against S. In 4 the scribe first wrote πολλῶ (AY) and then corrected it to πολλῶν (SF).

νευειν αλλ] ατολμο[ε] ει κα[ι μαλακος εγω  
 δε θρασυε] μεν και βδελ[υρος και αναιδης  
 ουτ ειμι] μητε γενοιμην [ανδρειοτε  
 ρον μεντ]οι πολλω'ν' πανυ τω[ν ιταμωε πο  
 5 λιτενομε]νων παρ υμειν [εμαυτον η  
 γουμαι ο]στιε με[ε]ν γαρ ω ανδρεε αθηραι §69  
 οι παριδ]ων α συν[οικειε τηε πολειε κρινει  
 δημευε]ι διδωε[ε] κατηγορει ουδεμια  
 ταυτ ανδ]ρεια[ε] ποιειε αλλ εχων ενεχυ  
 10 ρον της αυτ]ου ε[ωτηριαεε τοε προε χαριε

3 μήτε 4331 FAY: οὔτε S.

4 πολλῶ<sup>ν</sup>, nu added by the first hand: πολλῶ AY: πολλῶν SF.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

## 4332. DEMOSTHENES VIII 75-76

37 4B.106/L(1)a

6 × 6.3 cm

Second/third century

The foot of a column, with the middle part of six lines, varying in length between 20 and 25 letters, and 3.3 cm of the lower margin. The back is blank.

The hand is a Severe Style of a familiar type (cf. XXIII 2371, XLII 3005); letters are slightly less than medium-sized, incline a little to the right, and are only occasionally ligatured to the following letter.

The papyrus seems to have a unique reading in 3, in a clause where S too gives evidence of divergent interpretations.



γειν π]αρά τ[ο]υ παριον]το[ς  
 εν κε]φ[α]λ[αι]ω]ι δ[ ]α λεγω φρ]α[σac §76  
 κατα]βηται α βου[λομ]αι χ[ρη  
 ματα] εισφερειν φημι δειν τ[ην  
 5 υπαρχο]υσαν δυναμιν συνε[  
 χειν επ]ανορθουντας ει τι [δο

2-3 δ' à λέγω φράσας καταβήται βούλομαι FAY: δὲ S a in ras. Y<sup>1</sup>, καταβήται γὰρ S s.v. rec. Only 4332 has a (δ) before βούλομαι, which may imply that it had a different reading in 2.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

4333. DEMOSTHENES IX 31-34

84/94(b)

9.3 × 10 cm

Third century

Extensive remains of one column followed by the initial letters of a few lines from the next; the intercolumnium is 1.5 cm. Line-length averages 22 letters, so that 17 lines in total have been lost from the first column, giving an original column-height of 39 lines. The back is blank.

The hand is an upright angular capital of the type known as the Severe Style, roughly bilinear (ρ, τ, υ, φ extend below the line), with small well-made letters, well-spaced and with a very slight slant to the right. A comparable, but more quickly drawn, hand is Turner, *GMAW* no. 73.

The original scribe wrote the angular filler-marks, and punctuation by middle and high stop. Iota adscript is sometimes written; *scriptio plena* seems to be avoided.

The text has two errors of omission. The few other variants are of the usual eclectic type, with no discernible pattern to them. It is clear from col. i 20 ff. that the text belonged to the so-called longer redaction (see E. Drerup, *Philologus* Suppl. 7 (1899) 538), as did the other early MS of *In Phil.* III, PMich. inv. 918 (see p. 72), a fourth century parchment codex which also covers these sections of the speech.

col. i

και ελυμαινετο ηρ]ακλ[εις ο  
 στωι μαλλον δειων] και οργη]ε  
 αξιον παν]τες αν εφασαν  
 ειναι αλλ ο]υχ υπερ φιλιππου

5 και ων εκε]νος πραττει νυν  
 ουχ ουτως ε]χουσιν ου μονον  
 ουχ ελλ]ημος οντος ουδε  
 προσηκοντ]ος ουδεν τοις  
 ελλησιν αλλ ο]υδε βαρβαρου  
 10 εντευθεν κα]λον ειπειν  
 αλλ ολεθρου μα]κεδονος οθ]εν  
 ουδ ανδραπο]δ[ο]ν σπουδαι  
 ου ουδεν ην κ]αιτοι τι της §32  
 εσχατη]ε υβρε]ως απολειπει  
 15 ου προς τω]ι πολ]εις ανηρη  
 κεναι τιθησ]ι] μιν τα πυθια  
 τον κοινον των ελλ]ηνων  
 αγωνα· καν αυτος μη παρη  
 τους δουλους αγωνοθετησον  
 20 τ]ας [πε]μπει· [κ]υρ[ιος δε] π[υ]  
 λων κ]αι των [επι τους ελ  
 ληνας παρο]δω]ν εστι και

col. ii

ρω]ν ου μονον δ εφ οικ η ελλα §34

7 lines lost

δα [ουκ αχαιων ναυπακτον  
 ομ]ωμοκεν αιτωλοισ παρα  
 δω]σειν ουχι θηβαιων εχιν  
 5 ον α]φηρηται και νυν επι  
 βυζ]αντιους πορευεται συμ  
 μα]χους οντας ουχ ημων §35  
 εω [ταλλα αλλα χειρρονηςου

## Col. i

2 μάλλον **4333** (to judge from the space) SFAY: μάλλον εἶναι PMich.

ὄργης **4333** PMich SY: πολλῆς ὄργης FA.

3 ἔφασαν **4333** PMich AY, F (η suprascript above the first α): ἔφησαν S.

9 βαρβάρου **4333** PMich SFAY: βαρβάρων Blass.

10 ἐντέθεν **4333** (to judge from the space): ἐντέθεν ὅθεν PMich SFAY. Simple haplography.

13 οὐδὲν ἦν **4333** (to judge from the space): οὐδὲν ἦν πρότερον πρίασθαι PMich SFAY (πρίασθαι om. S<sup>1</sup> add. S corr. del. Benscler).

15 πόλει **4333** PMich SFY: πόλει Ἑλληνίδας A.

16 τὰ om. PMich.

20 κύριος κτλ om. S<sup>1</sup> add. S rec. FAY. The sentence is present in **4333** and PMich.

## Col. ii

2 Ναύπακτον **4333** (to judge from the space) S: Ναύπακτον ἀφελόμενος PMich FAY.

4-5 Ἐχίνον PMich SFAY. If **4333** had the same, we have to assume the syllable-division εχιw|ον, which seems most unlikely in a well-written manuscript. But no other reading is attested.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

## IV. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

### 4334. TAX LIST

36 4B.94/L(1-2)a

12 × 22 cm

94/5

A list of twenty-four persons required to pay one artaba of grain apiece for *κύνταξις*. As a land tax, *κύνταξις* is generally a charge to support temples, see XLIV **3169** 32 n., and add doubtfully P. Oxy. Hels. 22. 23. A flat rate of one artaba apiece from persons subject to *κύνταξις* is not otherwise known, but the tax seems to have been handled very flexibly, cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 240. In this case, however, a payment to support the office of the *τοπογραμματούς*, comparable to the Mendesian money tax *ὑποκείμενα τοπογραμματούς*, see P. Thmouis pp. 37-8, may be meant instead, cf. 6 n. *Κύνταξις* can also designate part of the wage of an employee, so, e.g., in XLIX **3514**, but the possibility that these sums were not to be collected from the persons named but paid to them is probably eliminated by the presence of women in lines 13, 18 and 20. A *κατ' ἄνδρα* list is in any case typical of taxation.

The document is drafted as a report but no addressee is named, so it presumably remained in the office of the village scribe who wrote it. The check strokes to the left of lines 7-30 were written with a thicker pen than the rest of the text. The back is blank and there are no sheet joins. The names *Ἀτύμις* (22) and *Ἄνετραίς* (28) are not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

παρὰ Διογένους κωμογραμματούς

Κενέπ(τα) καὶ ἄλλων κωμῶν κατ' ἄνδρ[α]

κυντάξεως τοῦ ἰδ (ἔτους) Αὐτοκράτορο[ς]

Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμα[νικοῦ].

5 ε[ἶ]ναι δέ:

τοπογρ(αμματ ) ζ[ε] . [ . . ]εως.

/Ἀνθέστις Διο[ν]υσίου τοῦ Ἄνθ( ) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβη) α

/Ἀπολλῶς Ἀχιλλέως α

/Ἡρᾶς Πτολλίωνος α

10 /Ἀρσιῆς Διοδώρου

/Κενθεὺς Πετρωνίου(ν) α

/Ἐρμοῦς ἀδελφὸς α

/Τκοῦχης Πτολεμαίου(ν) α

/Πτολεμαῖος Ἡρακλή(ου) α

- 15 /Ζωΐλος ἀδελφός α  
 /Χάρμος Ἰναροῦ α  
 /Ἀμόϊς Διογένους α  
 /Ἐσερέμφις Παποντ( ) α  
 /Ἀπολλῶς Νεχθενίβιο(ς) α  
 20 /Cινθοῶνις Φατρέως α  
 /Ἀντίοχος Ἀμμω(νίου?) α  
 /Ἀτῦμις Διογένους α  
 /Ἀτρῆς Φίλωνο(ς) τοῦ Ἐρμοῦτ(ος) α  
 /Χάρμος Διογ( ) (π)ρ(ε)βυτέρου α  
 25 /Ἀμόϊς Ἀπολλωνίου(ν) α  
 /Cαρὰς Ἀπολλωνίου(ν) α  
 /Παποντῶς Ἄρπαήσιο(ς) α  
 /Ἀνετραίς ἀδελ(φός) α  
 /Ἀμόϊς ἕτερος α  
 30 /Ἀρβῆκις Ἀπολλων[ . . . ] α  
 κδ

2 *ceve*<sup>ε</sup> 7 *αν*<sup>θ</sup> and so throughout 11 *πετρωνι*<sup>ο</sup> 12 *αδελφ*<sup>ο</sup> 13 *πτολεμαι*<sup>ο</sup>  
 14 *ηρακλ*<sup>η</sup> 18 *παποντ*<sup>τ</sup> 19 *νεχθενιβι*<sup>ο</sup> 21 *αμμ*<sup>ω</sup> 23 *φιλων*<sup>ο</sup>, *ερμουτ*<sup>τ</sup> 24 *διο*<sup>ο</sup>, *ρ*<sup>ρ</sup>  
 25, 26 *απολλωνι*<sup>ο</sup> 27 *αρπαησι*<sup>ο</sup> 28 *ανετραις*<sup>αι</sup> *αδε*<sup>α</sup>

‘From Diogenes, village scribe of Seneptha(?) and other villages. Detailed list of contributions for year 14 of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, to wit:

- ‘For the district(?) of the topogrammateus of S ...  
 Anthestis son of Dionysius, grandson of Anth( ), wheat 1 artaba.  
 Apollos son of Achilleus, 1.  
 Heras son of Ptolion, 1.  
 10 Harsiesis son of Diodorus, 1.  
 Sentheus son of Petronius, 1.  
 His brother Hermus, 1.  
 Tkuchis daughter of Ptolemaeus, 1.  
 Ptolemaeus son of Heracles, 1.  
 15 His brother Zoilus, 1.  
 Charmus son of Inarus, 1.  
 Amois son of Diogenes, 1.

- Eseremphis daughter of Papont( ), 1.  
 Apollos son of Nechthenibis, 1.  
 20 Sinthoonis daughter of Phatreus, 1.  
 Antiochus son of Ammo(nius?), 1.  
 Hatymis son of Diogenes, 1.  
 Hatres son of Philon, grandson of Hermus, 1.  
 Charmus son of Diog( ) the elder, 1.  
 25 Amois son of Apollonius, 1.  
 Saras son of Apollonius, 1.  
 Papontos son of Harpaesis, 1.  
 His brother Anetrais, 1.  
 Amois, another (brother), 1.  
 30 Harbekis son of Apollon..., 1.  
 24.’

<sup>2</sup> *ceveπ(τα)*. The ink after *ceve-* is very faded, so the reading is not altogether certain, but this is better than the alternatives *Céveως* and *Cεναώ*. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* does not report for any of these places a comogrammateia which included more than one village.

<sup>6</sup> *τοπογραμματα* C[. . .]εωσ. The first word must be *τοπογραμματαεύς* or a related form, the second a name. They in some way describe the list which follows. ‘The topogrammateus NN’ would make sense in this context if he was responsible for the grain or was the person to whom it was to be paid, but the word order would be odd; one expects the name first. I should therefore prefer to interpret C[. . .]εωσ as a village; *Cε[ρύφ]εωσ*, *Cε[νύρ]εωσ* and *Cε[νύ]εωσ* would do. The last is rather short, but not impossibly so, and was in the same Middle toparchy as Seneptha, so it is more likely than the other villages to have shared a village scribe with that place. *Κύνταξις* is already known to have been collected at Sennis (XLIV 3169 33) and Seryphis (PSI VII 739. 12).

*Τοπογραμματαίς* were usually at the same time *κωμογραμματαίς* in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see P. Köln III 137. 22–23 n.; the known exceptions are P. Köln 137, IX 1188 and XX 2277. In 1188 and 2277 the *τοπογραμματαεύς* was responsible for a toparchy, in P. Köln 137 for a *μερίς*. It is not necessary to interpret 4334 as evidence for a topogrammateus at village level: the text can mean ‘contributions from the village of S ... for the *τοπογράφ(η)*’, cf. the note on *πραι(ποσίτου) κόμης* in XLVIII 3425 7–8. If *κύνταξις* in line 3 here means a temple contribution, the implication would be that the *τοπογραμματαίς* were in some way responsible for it. As that is not otherwise attested, it may be better to take the contribution as support for the office of *τοπογραμματαεύς* itself; *ἐποκέλιμενα* for that purpose are already known, see introd.

In any case this is the latest mention of the *τοπογραμματαία* in the Oxyrhynchite nome yet published. The next is P. Köln 137 of AD 88.

23 *τοῦ* was written over another word.

J. C. SHELTON

#### 4335. RECEIPT FOR RENT

48 5B.29/D(4–6)a

11.5 × 16.5 cm

27 October 128

A citizen of Alexandria who had recently purchased a substantial amount of land near the Oxyrhynchite village of Paomis declares that he has received the full money

rent owed him by one of the tenants for property farmed in accord with a lease that had been drawn up with the previous owners. For an example of the opposite procedure following the sale of land already under lease, i.e., payment to the former owners, see P. Cair. Isid. 111.

The amount of land which the tenant and an associate had leased,  $51\frac{3}{8}$  aruras, is one of the largest known from second century Egypt, being exceeded only by P. Iand. III 28 (c. 300 aruras) and P. Lond. III 1223 (p. 139;  $111\frac{1}{8}$  aruras); it is the largest known from the Oxyrhynchite nome to date. The rent charged, 28 drachmas per arura plus an extra gift of 8 dr., falls within the attested range of the comparatively few leases to be paid exclusively in money. The following comparable figures from second century Oxyrhynchus are taken from D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht* 255 ff.: 36 dr./ar. (III 499: AD 121), 24 dr./ar. (IV 730: 130), 22 dr./ar. (PSI IV 315: 137/8), 60 and 24 dr./ar. for two parcels (P. Fouad I 43: 190-91), 32 dr./ar. (VI 910: 197), all for grass land; 44 and 12 dr./ar. for two parcels (P. Mert. I 17: 158), 140 dr./ar. (PSI I 1036: 192), in both cases for grain land; 1 dr. 2 ob./ar. for *ὑπόλογος* (X 1279: 139).

The back is blank.

Διονύσιος Διογέν[ε]ους τ[ο]ῦ Θεώ[νο]ς Εἰρηνοφυλάκιος  
 ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεύς Ἀττίω Ἀττίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου  
 ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως χαίρειν. ἀπέχ[ω] παρὰ σοῦ  
 τὸ ἐπιβάλλον[τ]οι ἡμῶν μέρος τοῦ τοῦ διεληθόν-  
 5 τος δωδεκάτου ἔτους Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 ἀργυρικοῦ φόρου ὃν ἐγεώργησας σὺν [Ἀπο]λλωνί[ου] ἠ'  
 Ἐπαφροδίτου κατὰ μίσθωσιν πρότε[ρον] Διονυσίας  
 Ἡρακλείδου καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς περὶ Πα[ύ]μων ἀ-  
 10 ρουρῶν πενήκοντα καὶ τῆς πλείων ἐκ γεωμε-  
 τρίας εὐρεθείσης ἀρούρης μιᾶς τετάρτου ὀγδόου  
 ἀγορασθεισῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐτέραις ἀρούραι[ς] παρὰ  
 τῶν προγεγραμμένων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατὰ ζῆ ἡμι-  
 15 κυ μέρος τῶν διὰ τῆς μισθώσεως σπονδῆς ὀκτώ,  
 τοῦ δὲ ὄλου φόρου ὄντος ὡς τῆς ἀρούρης δραχμῶν  
 εἴκοσι ὀκτώ, καὶ οὐδέν[ε]ν σ[ο]ι ἐγκαλῶ περὶ οὐδε[ν] ἄ-  
 πλῶς μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστῶσης ἡμέρας. κυρία ἢ ἰδιό-  
 γρη[α]φός μου τ[ο]ῦ Δ[ιο]νυσίου ἀποχή. ἔτους τρικαιδε-  
 κάτου Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ  
 Σεβαστοῦ, Φαῶφι τριακάδι.

'Dionysius son of Diogenes, grandson of Theon, of the Eirenophylacian tribe and Althaeac deme, to Attius son of Attius also called Apollonius, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, greetings. I have received from you the half share which falls to you of the money rental of the past twelfth year of Hadrian Caesar the lord for the fifty aruras and the additional one and three-eighths aruras discovered by survey located near Paomis, which you farmed together with Apollonius son of Epaphroditus according to a lease, formerly belonging to Dionysia daughter of Heracleides and her father, and which were purchased by me together with other aruras from the aforewritten persons, and also your half share of the eight (drachmas) for a libation stipulated in the lease, the whole rental being twenty-eight drachmas per arura, and I make no complaint against you whatever for anything up to the present day. The receipt, written in my own hand by me Dionysius, is binding. Year thirteen of Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Phaophi thirtieth.'

5 Year 12 Hadrian is 127/8.

9-10 καὶ τῆς πλείων ... ὀγδόου. Evidently the lease had been made out for fifty aruras ἢ ἔσται ἐὰν ὄσων ἐκ γεωμετρίας or a similar clause, cf. e.g. I 102 11, and the survey revealed  $1\frac{3}{8}$  aruras above the stated fifty to have been sown, but a real parallel to this wording is unknown to me. Instead of πλείων the synonymous πλείωι may have been written.

13 σπονδῆς ὀκτώ. Possibly σπονδῆς <δραχμῶν> ὀκτώ should be printed; certainly it is to be understood that the amount was eight drachmas. Small additional money payments to the lessor are common in Oxyrhynchite leases, cf. J. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht* 116-7.

J. C. SHELTON

#### 4336. RECEIPTS RELATING TO JULIUS THEON

34 4B.77/H(1-2)a + M(1-2)a

24 × 23 cm

circa 169-171

A collection of business papers chiefly of interest for the references to land belonging to Julius Theon, once archidicastes and hypomnematographus of Alexandria. Several Julii Theones held these and similarly exalted posts, see XLIV 3197 1 n. Because of the date, this will be the Theon IV of P. Theones, who has appeared again since that publication in L 3588. He was archidicastes in 161 (P. Theones 27). Our text adds the information that he later became a tax-exempt member of the Museum (38), the tenth known archidicastes to have received this honour, the others being nos. 6, 10, 12-13, 16-19 and 32 of the list by N. Lewis, "Literati in the Service of the Roman Emperors: Politics before Culture", *Festschrift Bluma Trell* 155-7. There is a presumption, but not certainty, that his appointment occurred in the time between the receipt in lines 22-29 and that in 37-46. The first is dated 19 August 169; the second is not dated but concerns wheat rental from the crop of Marcus Aurelius's tenth year, so it cannot have been issued before the harvest of c. April 170 and was probably made out within a few months of that time.

The following documents are preserved:

I (1-7): Acknowledgement by Petechon son of Harpaesis that he has received an additional loan of money from a person whose name is lost.

II (8-15): Receipt from Claudius Fuscus, administrator to Julius Theon, for land rent in money from a son of Petosiris. Date presumably AD 169, see 14-15 n.

III (16-21): Notice of credit of 5 art. 1 choen. wheat at the public granary, issued to two men following a transfer from a private deposit and probably dating from AD 169.

IV (22-36): Receipts from Claudius Fuscus issued to or through Petechon son of Harpaesis for various payments in wheat and money from 19 August 169 through a date in Thoth (29 August-27 September) 170. All payments are connected with the rental of land near Terythis.

V (37-46): Receipts from Plutarchus, administrator to Julius Theon, for land rent in kind from Nechthenibis son of Petosiris, dated to year 11 of Marcus Aurelius (170/171).

VI (57-60): Traces of a receipt(?) possibly referring to year 13 (172/3).

So far as one can see, then, the documents are arranged chronologically. Most were issued by administrators of the estate of Julius Theon, and as there are a number of different recipients one might suggest that the papyrus holds copies made for the estate itself. The hands, however, change with each document, so they were certainly not copied out by one scribe, as one might have in that case expected; and no connection between the estate and documents I and II is visible. The impression made is rather that of a collection of original papers preserved as they were written in one papyrus roll. Should that be so, there will have been a connection between the recipients that is no longer ascertainable: kinship, membership in the same *πιττάκιον*, or the like.

The back is blank. There is a sheet join with a 2 cm overlap 10 cm from the left edge.

## Col. i

- .....]ωνος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύχων  
 πόλεως Πετε]χὸν Ἀρπαῆσις μητρὸς  
 .....]ἀπὸ Κερκεμόνηως κατα  
 .....]ν Δερύθειας χαίριν. ὁμω-  
 5 λογῶ ἐσχηκέ]ναι παρὰ σοῦ σεε χρήσιν  
 .....]. δικάου χιρογράφου και  
 .....]. ον ἄλλας δραχμὸς εἴκοσι, [(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) κ] c. c
- (m. 2) Κλαύδιος Φοῦς]κος φροντιστῆς Ἰουλι(ίου)  
 Θέωνος γενο(μένου) ἀρ]χιδικαστοῦ) καὶ ὑπομνηματογράφου)

- 10 καὶ ὡς χρη(ματίζει) . . .]. Πετοσίριος γεωργ(ῶ) χ(αίρειν).  
 ἀπέσχον παρὰ σοῦ ἀφ' ὦ(ν) ὀφείλ(εις) φό(ρων) [ὦν γ]εωρ[γ](εῖς)  
 c. 12 letters ] . [ μῆ]  
 ἐλαττουμένο]ν τοῦ Θεώ(νος) ἐν οἷς ἄλ(λοις) ὀφεί[λ(εις)].  
 (ἔτους) θ Ἀῦρηλίου Ἄν]τωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου,  
 15 (month, day)]
- (m. 3) διεστάλ(ησαν) (πυροῦ) γεν]ή(ματος) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) η (ἔτους?) Ἀῦρηλίου  
 Ἄντωνίνου Καί]σαρος τοῦ κυρίου δι(ὰ) ci(τολόγων) ἀπηλ(ιώτου)  
 το(παρχίας)  
 c. 12 letters ]μοις μη(τρὸς) Τεθεῦτος Τερύ-  
 θεως τόπ(ων) καὶ . . .] εὐς Πετοσίριος Σκῶ  
 20 τό(πων) ἀρτάβαι πέ]ντε χοῖ(νιξ) μιά', (γίν.) (ἀρτ.) ε (χοῖν.) α ἀπὸ  
 θέμ(ατος)  
 [τοῦ δεῖνος ]

## Col. ii

- (m. 4) Κλαύδιος Φοῦς]κος φροντιστῆς Ἰουλι(ίου) Θέωνος γενο(μένου)  
 ἀρχιδικαστοῦ) καὶ ὑπομνηματογράφου) καὶ ὡς χρη(ματίζει)  
 Πετεχῶντι Ἀρ(παῆσιος)  
 γεωργ(ῶ) χαίρειν. παρεμετρήθη παρὰ σοῦ ἀφ' ὦ(ν) ὀφείλ(εις)  
 25 ἐκφο(ρίων) γενή(ματος) θ (ἔτους) ὑπὸ προστ( ) Τερύθειας (πυροῦ)  
 μέτ(ρω) (ἡμιαρταβίω) π(αραλημπτικῶ) τῆς οὐσί(ας)  
 (ἀρτάβαι) ἑβδομήκοντα τρεῖς τέταρτον χοῖνειακ ἕξ,  
 (γίν.) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτ.) ογ (τέταρτον) χ(οίν.) σ, μῆ ἐλαττουμένου τοῦ  
 Θεώ(νος) ἐν οἷς ἄλ(λοις)  
 ὀφείλ(εις). (ἔτους) θ Ἀῦρηλίου Ἄντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου,  
 Μεσορῆ κς. φορέτρου (πυροῦ) (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώ, (γίν.) (δρ.) η.  
 30 ι (ἔτους) Φαμ(ενῶθ) γ-, φό(ρου) κλ(ηρονόμων?) Σύρου ἰ (ἔτους) διὰ  
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πετεχῶντος  
 (δρ.) ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα, (γίν.) (δρ.) ρξ. ἄλ(λας) ὁμοίως (δρ.) εἴκοσι[i].  
 (γίν.) (δρ.) κ, (γίν.) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (δρ.) ρπ, μῆ ἐλαττουμένου τοῦ  
 Θεώ(νος) ἐν οἷς  
 ἄλ(λοις) ὀφεί]λ(εις). καὶ τῇ κγ- τοῦ Ἐπειφ μηνὸς ἄλ(λας) ὁμ(οίως)  
 γενή(ματος)

ι (ἔτους) (δρ.)] ὀγδοήκοντα μίαν [δ]β(ολοὺς) ἕξ, (γίν.) (δρ.) πα ὀβ(ολοὶ)  
 5. καὶ Θῶ(θ) [  
 35 ια] (ἔτους) φορέτρον κτή(ματος) Αχ( ) ὀβ(ολοὺς) 5 (ἡμιοβέλιον),  
 (γίν.) ὀβ(ολοὶ) 5 (ἡμιοβ.?). [. ἄλ(λας) (δρ.)] . . . ὀβ(ολοὺς) [ι],  
 (γίν.) (δρ.)] . ὀβ(ολοὶ) ι.

(m. 5) Πλούταρχος φροντιστικῆς Ἰουλ(ίου) Θέωνος γενο(μένου) ἀρχιδ(ικαστοῦ)  
 καὶ ὑπομ(νηματογράφου) καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Μου(σειῶ) ἀτελ(ῶν) καὶ ὡς  
 40 Νεχθενίβι Πετοσί(ριος) γεω(ργῶ) χαίρειν. παρέλαβ(ον)  
 παρὰ σοῦ εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰουλ(ίου) λόγον ἀφ' ὧ(ν) ὀφείλ(εις)  
 ἐκφορίω(ν) τοῦ δεκάτου ἔτους Αὐρηλίου Ἄντωνίνου  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου πυροῦ γενή(ματος) τοῦ αὐτοῦ) δεκάτου ἔτους  
 μέτρῳ (ἡμιαρταβίῳ) παραλη(μπτικῶ) ἀρτάβας ἑκατὸν τεσσερά-  
 κοντα δύο τέταρτ(ον) χοί(νικας) δκτώ, (γίν.) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτ.) ρμβ  
 45 μὴ ἐλαττουμένον τοῦ Ἰουλίου Θέωνος περὶ ὧν  
 ἄλλων ὀφείλεις αὐτῷ.

## Col. iii

(m. 6) Πλού[τα]ρ[χος]  
 . [  
 . . . . [  
 50 ὡς χρη(ματίζει) δι. . [  
 Ἀρπαήσιο(ς) γεωργ(ῶ) χ[αίρειν. ἀπέσχον παρὰ  
 σοῦ τὸν φόρον ὧν [  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτ(ος) ἔτους ι[α  
 εἴκοσι, μενούση[ς  
 55 (ἔτους) ια Αὐρηλίου Ἄντωνίνου Καίσαρος  
 τοῦ κυρίου, . [  
 ιγδ [  
 ὀμ(οίως) . [  
 ἀρτ(άβ) [  
 60 . . . . . [  
 . . . . .

2 l. Πετε]χῶν Ἀρπαήσιος	3 l. Κερκεμοίνεως	4 l. Τερύθεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ	5. l.
εἰς 6 l. δικάιω χειρογράφου	7 l. δραχμάς	8 ἰου <sup>λ</sup>	9 αρ] <sup>χ</sup> , ὑπομνηματογράφ
10 γεωργ <sup>ω</sup> χδ	11 ἀφ <sup>ω</sup> ὀφείλ <sup>ω</sup> φ <sup>ο</sup>	13 θε <sup>ω</sup> , α <sup>λ</sup>	16 γεν <sup>ω</sup> η, διελ <sup>ω</sup> η <sup>σ</sup>
18 μ <sup>ω</sup>	20 χ <sup>ω</sup> , /---, χ <sup>ω</sup> , θεμ <sup>ω</sup>	22 ἰου <sup>λ</sup> , γεν <sup>ω</sup>	23 αρ <sup>ω</sup> , ὑπομνηματογράφ, χρῆ, αρ <sup>ω</sup>
ἀφ <sup>ω</sup> ὀφείλ <sup>ω</sup>	25 εκφ <sup>ω</sup> γεν <sup>ω</sup> η <sup>σ</sup> , προσ <sup>ω</sup> τερ <sup>ω</sup> + με <sup>ω</sup> π <sup>ω</sup> , ουσι <sup>ω</sup>	26 ---, l. χοίνικας	27 / +---, δχ <sup>ω</sup>
θε <sup>ω</sup> , α <sup>λ</sup>	28 οφείλ <sup>ω</sup> , /θ	29 +ς, /ς	30 ι <sup>ω</sup> φ <sup>ω</sup> , φ <sup>ω</sup> κ <sup>ω</sup> , ι <sup>ω</sup>
θε <sup>ω</sup>	33 α <sup>ω</sup> γεν <sup>ω</sup> - and similarly throughout	31 5, /5, α <sup>ω</sup> , 5	32 /5κ/5ε,

Col. i (1-7) 'To ... son of ... on from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, Petechon son of Harpaesis, mother ... from Cercemunis (now living in ?) Terythis, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received on loan from you (additionally to the sum I borrowed) by note of hand ... another twenty drachmas, total dr. 20, ...'

(8-15) 'Claudius Fuscus, administrator to Julius Theon, former archidicastes and hypomnematographus, and however he is styled, to ... son of Petosiris, tenant, greetings. I have received from you, out of the rents you owe for (the land) which you farm, ... without prejudice to Theon in respect of whatever else you owe. Year ... of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, (month, day).'

(16-21) 'Transferred, in wheat from the crop of the past 8th (?) year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, through the sitologi of the eastern toparchy, to ... child of ..., mother Tetheus, area of Terythis, and ... eus child of Petosiris, area of Sco, five artabas and one choenix, total art. 5, choen. 1, from the deposit of ...'

Col. ii (22-36) 'Claudius Fuscus, administrator to Julius Theon, former archidicastes and hypomnematographus and however he is styled, to Petechon son of Harpaesis, tenant, greetings. I have had measured out to me by you from the rents which you owe, out of the harvest of year 9, under the foreman(ship?) for Terythis, seventy-three and one-quarter artabas, six choenices, of wheat by the half-artaba receiving measure of the estate, total wheat art. 73 $\frac{1}{4}$ , choen. 6, without prejudice to Theon in respect of whatever else you owe. Year 9 of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, Mesore 26. For wheat transport eight dr., total dr. 8. Year 10, Phamenoth 3, for rent for year 10 from the heirs of Syrus, through the same Petechon, one hundred and sixty drachmas, total dr. 160. Likewise another twenty dr., total dr. 20, sum total dr. 180, without prejudice to Theon in respect of whatever else you owe. And on the 23rd of the month of Epeiph, likewise for the harvest of year 10, another eighty-one dr., six obols, total dr. 81, ob. 6. And on Thoth *n*th of year 11, transport fee for the parcel of Ach( ?), 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  obols, total ob. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ . On the *n*th another *n* dr., 10 ob., total dr. *n*, ob. 10.'

(37-46) Plutarchus, administrator to Julius Theon, former archidicastes and hypomnematographus, one of the tax-exempt in the Museum, and however he is styled, to Nechthenibis son of Petosiris, tenant, greetings. I have received from you for the account of the same Julius, from the rents which you owe for the tenth year of Aurelius Antoninus Casesar the lord, by the half-artaba receiving measure, one hundred and forty-two and one quarter artabas, eight choenices, of wheat from the harvest of the same tenth year, total art. 142 $\frac{1}{4}$ , choen. 8, without prejudice to Julius Theon in respect of whatever else you owe him.'

2 Πετερχόν (= -χών). The same tenant is mentioned in lines 23, 30 and perhaps 50–51, if the restoration is correct.

2–3 κατα[γινόμενος ἐν] would fill the available space and gives an acceptable meaning, but it requires correcting the genitive to the dative, so the solution may lie elsewhere. Possibilities other than καταγινόμενος include καταμένων and καταμήνιος.

εεε for εἰε is striking. It should perhaps be explained as a superfluous sigma followed by εε = εἰε, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 125, 258. Something similar may recur at the end of 7.

6 [χωρὶς ὧν ὑφείλω σο]ῖ would give the expected sense, but the trace before δικάου is not iota. Perhaps σο]ν for σοι, but the phrase would still be long for the space.

If καί is to be read at the end of the line it will presumably have been followed by another way of borrowing money, e.g. [διὰ χεῖρός. To judge from the list of references by E. Christiansen, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 298 n. 161, this text is much too early for καί[ροῦ νομίσματος; a misspelling of κεφαλαίου cannot be ruled out.

7 ] .ον. One expects the size of the previous loan, but the trace before omicron does not look like iota, rho, or tau, so the word is probably not τριών, τεσσαράων, ἑκατόν, or one of the hundreds or thousands. There is no palaeographic objection to δραχμῶν without a number.

The correction at the end of the line is puzzling. The first sigma was written before [(γ.ν.) (δρ.) κ] and the rest over it, but I suppose the writing all belongs together. Since there is no place before this point where the term of the loan could have been mentioned, the traces may be intended for εἰε, with e.g. μήνας ποσοῦς in a lost line below. Cf. then εεε for εἰε in 5, but ε is hard to read here.

10 The name before Πετοσίριος may be Νε]χ(θενίβι), cf. 39.

11–12 After φέ(ρων) one expects something along the lines of ὧν γεωργεῖς τοῦ Θεώνος ἑδαφῶν περὶ κώμην such and such ἀργυρίου δραχμάς so many; cf. e.g. XIV 1646 and 1719, XLII 3051 and 47 ff. below.

14–15 Year 9 of Marcus Aurelius seems to be the earliest possible date of the receipt, because Lucius Verus would have been named as co-emperor before his death early in 169. Year 10 or later can be restored only if this text was written after 22–29, but so far as determinable there is no other such chronological irregularity in this papyrus.

16–21 These lines have been restored to follow the pattern of XXXVIII 2871 and XXXI 2591. The grain concerned was credited to the persons named in 18–19; one of these was a child of Petosiris (19), possibly therefore a sibling of Nechthenibis who appears in 30 and perhaps 10. The payer's name has been lost in 21. There would be room for Ἰουλ(ίου) Θεώνος, but not for any of his titles.

16 Year 8 (of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus) was 167/8.

25 Expand presumably ὑπὸ προσ(άτην) or προσ(αείων). I have not found the phrase in another text, but a προσάτης of the Theons' estate at Terythis is also mentioned in P. Theones 2.2.

π(αραλημπτικῶ). Cf. 43 παραλη(μπτικῶ).

30 κλ(ηρονόμων?). One might also think of κλ(ήρου) or the like, comparing the κτῆμα in 35, but διὰ later in this line suggests that these words signify a juristic person using Petechon as an agent.

50 δι . . . [ . Perhaps the administrator Plutarchus himself uses an intermediary here. Or write Δι . . . [ , the beginning of a name.

54 Perhaps μενούση[ς κυρίας τῆς μεθώσεως following P. Giss. 29. 18–20, but BGU IV 1151. 46 suggests μενούση[ς τῆ Θεώνι τῆς ἐφόδου ἐν οἷς ἄλλοις ὑφείλεις, which agrees better with the μὴ ἐλαττωμένου clause in the other rent receipts.

57 ιγ might mean '13½' or '13th year'.

Further text ranging with the left edges of lines 47–56 would have left traces, but text ranging with lines 57–60 would have been lost.

J. C. SHELTON

#### 4337. OFFER TO BUY CONFISCATED LAND

43 5B.70/B(1–2)a

10.5 × 9.5 cm

Second century (c. 178?)

An offer in the usual form to purchase some land near Pela that had been confiscated by the fiscus; for a bibliography on such sales see P. Petaus 13 introd. The chief

interest in this text lies in the identity of the previous owner of the property, whose full name appears here as Marcus Salvius Iustus (7). A Salvius Iustus was in office as ἀνταρχιερεύς on 21 May 164 (XLII 3026 i 17–19), and land near Sinary confiscated from a Salvius Iustus is known from XLIV 3170 254. The rarity of the name makes it tempting to refer all three passages to the same individual. For the date see 1 n., and for a further conjecture about the reason for the confiscation see 7–8 n. The back is blank.

4337 is the text referred to in 3170 254 n.

Θέων[ι στρα]τηγῶ  
 παρὰ Ἡρακλείας Θεώνος τοῦ Σαραπάτος μητρὸς Ἡρα-  
 κ]λείας ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως μετὰ κυρίου Ἰερα-  
 κίωνος τοῦ καὶ Φαγίου Φανίου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ-  
 5 τῆς πόλεως. βο[ύ]λομαι ἀνήσασθαι ἐκ τοῦ δη-  
 μοσίου ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς πρᾶσιν ὑπερκειμένων πρό-  
 τερον Μάρκου Καλοῦτου Ἰούστου, οὗ τὰ πράγματα  
 μετέπεσε εἰς τὸ ταμείον, περὶ κώμην Πέλα ἐκ  
 μὲν τοῦ Σεύθου κλ[ήρ]ου σειτικὰς μοναρτάβου  
 10 ἀ[ρ]ούρας δέκα ἑννέα καὶ ἰδιωτικὸν χάμα ἐφ' ᾧ  
 ἄκα<ν>θαι τεσσεράκον[τ]α μίᾱ, ὧν ἀρουρῶν γείτονεσ  
 νότου γύης, βορρᾶ βασιλική, ἀπηλιώτου πλευ-  
 ρισμα, λιβὸς ἢ ἐξή[ς] φραγίς, τῶν τῆς συντει-  
 μήσεως ταλάντων τριῶν καὶ δραχμῶν  
 15 χειλ[ίων] καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Κρό-  
 του [κλήρου] σειτικὰς μοναρτάβου ἀρούρας  
 τρεῖ[ς], ὧν γείτονεσ νότου χάμα, βορρᾶ βασι-  
 λικ[ή]

3 ἱερα

7 ἰουστου

9 l. σιτικὰς

13–14 l. συντιμήσεως

15 l. χιλίων

16. l. σιτικὰς

'To Theon (?), strategus, from Heracleia, daughter of Theon and Heracleia, grand-daughter of Sarapas, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, acting with her guardian Hieracion also called Phantias, son of Phantias, from the same city. I wish to purchase from the treasury, out of the properties which are designated for sale, once belonging to Marcus Salvius Iustus, whose property has fallen to the fiscus, in the neighbourhood of the village of Pela, from the allotment named after Seuthes, nineteen aruras of grain land taxed at one artaba each and a private embankment on which there are forty-one

acacia trees; the boundaries of these aruras are: on the south a dam, on the north crown land, on the east a dike(?), on the west next parcel, for the assessed value of three talents and one thousand drachmas plus the associated charges; and from the allotment named after Crotus, three aruras of grain land taxed at one artaba each, of which the boundaries are: on the south an embankment, on the north crown land ...'

<sup>1</sup> *Θέων[ι στρα]τηγῶ.* This reading will suit the traces, and if it is right our text should be placed near Theon's attested term of office, (Feb.–May) 178 to 3 June 179, see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *The Strategi and Royal Scribes* (Pap. Flor. XV) 94. But the lists of strategi are not complete and a slightly longer name, such as *Θεων[ἄτι]* or *Θεων[ίνω]* would also fit the space.

<sup>3-4</sup> The *κι* of *Ἱερακίωνος* is oddly written and the end of line 3 is smeared, but no other known name will do.

<sup>7-8</sup> *οὐ τὰ πράγματα μετέπεσε. μεταπίπτω* is used of private property transfers in PSI VIII 874. 12 and III 636 14 (in Stud. Pal. IV p. 144); it does not seem to appear in connection with state confiscations in other papyri published to date. XLIV 3170 254, referring to other property, however, may have *λ[όγ(ω)?]* *ἀναλη(πτῶν) (πρότερον) Καλοῦτου Ἰού[στου]*, 'on account of confiscated property of Salvius Iustus'. It may be worth suggesting that Iustus, in office in 164, lost his property because of implication in the usurpation of Avidius Cassius in 175. This would suit the conjectured date of this papyrus, see 1 n.

<sup>9</sup> *μοναρτάβου.* One artaba per arura was the usual tax rate on cleruchic and other private land, cf. XLIV 3170 24 n.

<sup>11</sup> *ἄκανθαι* is doubtless the word meant: acacia trees were numbered individually and commonly grew on embankments, cf. VI 909 13 ff., VIII 1112, but the nu before theta is difficult. Possibly *ἄκαθαι* was written in error; similar omissions of nu before a dental stop are cited by F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 116. On acacias see now also B. Kramer, *ZPE* 97 (1993) 131–144.

<sup>12-13</sup> *πλεύριμα.* Only *πλευρισμός* is attested, but if that had been written here the final sigma should be clearly visible, and an alternation in forms is plausible, cf. e.g. *πλεονασμός* and *πλεόνασμα*. *πλευρισμός* has occurred in II 373, XXIV 2723 12, PSI VIII 897. 69, and BGU VI 1270. 14; none of these passages give any clue to the meaning, but the compound *διαπλευρισμός* is the sense of 'cross-dike' is found in P. Lille 1 recto 6 and verso 5. I therefore hesitantly follow F. Preisgke, *Wörterbuch* s.v. and M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 36 in translating *πλευρισμός* as 'dike', and treat *πλεύριμα* as a by-form. The editor of XXXIV 2723 translates 'depression' without comment.

<sup>13-14</sup> The assessed price of three talents, one thousand drachmas, amounts to one thousand drachmas per arura on nineteen aruras. Attractive as this seems, it may be misleading, as it leaves the dike with its trees out of account.

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#### 4338. SITOLOGUS RECEIPT

36 4B.95/K(1-3)a

9.5 × 8 cm

182/3

Receipt recording the payment of 12¼ artabas of wheat from one private account at the village of Syron to another one; for bibliography see XLIV 3179 introd.; add XLIX 3486 and 3496–7. There is no change of hand for the signature of the sitologus and his subordinate, so this text is only a copy.

The writing runs across the fibres, although the back is blank. There is no sheet join to show which side is the recto of the original roll. This small rectangle was presumably cut from a roll of normal size, perhaps from a blank area in a used roll or document.

μεμέτρη(νται) εἰς τὸ δημό(σιον) (πυροῦ) γενήμα(τος) τοῦ  
 ἐνεστῶ(τος) κγ (ἔτους) Αὐρηλί[ου] Κομμόδου  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου δι(ὰ) cito(λόγων) Λιβ(ός) Σύρων ἀπὸ θέμα(τος)  
 Ἀρμινίου Ἀνῶτος Θέωνι τῷ καὶ Πτολε-  
 5 μαίῳ Ἀντιόχου γ(εωτέρου) θέμα(τος) ἀρτάβαι δεκα-  
 δύο τέταρτον, (γίνονται) (ἀρτ.) ιβ (τέταρτον). Δημήτριος ὁ καὶ  
 Νεῖλ(ος) σεσημείωμαι. Ἀσκληπιάδης cito(λόγος) σεση-  
 μίωμαι ἀρτάβας δεκαδύο τέταρτον,  
 γί(νονται) (ἀρτ.) ιβ (τέταρτον).

3, 7 cito'

5 1. Ἀντιόχου

6, 9 d=(τέταρτον)

7, 7-8 l. σεσημείωμαι

'Paid into the public granary, in wheat of the crop of the present 23rd year of Aurelius Commodus Caesar the lord, through the sitologi of the village of Syron, Western toparchy, from the account of Harmiysis son of Anso, to Theon alias Ptolemaeus, son of Antiochus the younger, for his private account, twelve and a quarter artabas, total art. 12¼. Signed by me, Demetrius alias Neilus. I, Asclepiades, sitologus, have signed for twelve and a quarter artabas, total art. 12¼.'

<sup>1-4</sup> *μεμέτρη(νται)* ... ἀπὸ θέμα(τος). See XLIV 3181 1-4 n.

<sup>3, 7</sup> The form of the abbreviation *cito'* rather suggests a word with a pi, such as *cito(πράκτωρ)* or *cito(παραλήμπτης)*, but in this context one expects sitologi, cf. introd. for parallels.

<sup>4</sup> Ἀνῶς is not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

J. C. SHELTON

#### 4339. INVITATION TO A SARAPIS FEAST

29 4B.44/K(8)a

7 × 2.5 cm

Second/third century

An invitation in the customary form. The list of similar texts given by T. C. Skeat in *JEA* 61 (1975) 253 n. 2 has been brought up to date in the introduction to P. Köln VI 280. The chief discussions are P. Coll. Youtie I 51–2 introd., P. Yale I 85 introd., and H. C. Youtie, *Scriptumculae* i 487 ff. (= *HThR* 41 (1948) 13 ff.).

The invitation below is for the ninth of a month which is as usual unnamed. Ludwig Koenen, pursuing a hint in P. Oslo III p. 247, has argued that Sarapis feasts which were not specifically held for some private reason (*πρωτογενέσιον* XXXVI 2491, *μαλλοκούρια* XII 1484 (cf. XLIX 3463 6 n.), SB XIV 11944) may be connected with celebrations of Isis and associated gods (*ZPE* 1 (1967) 121–6 and P. Köln I 57 introd.), and all the dates so far published can in fact be explained in this way. (The editor of LII 3693 denied this for the thirtieth in his text, but there were Sarapeia which fell on Pharmuthi 30, see R. Merkelbach, *Isisfeste in griechisch-römischer Zeit* 43.) The ninth of



Phamenoth would fit this pattern as well, as 5 March was the date of the *navigium Isidis*, see Merkelbach, op. cit. 39 ff., 57 ff. Still, it should not be overlooked that known Isis celebrations were so frequent that any number between 1 and 30 has a two to one chance of corresponding to one in some month or other, and possible use of an additional religious calendar increases the chances still further.

The invitation is completely preserved, but there was originally writing above it and there is also one letter in the left margin opposite line 3. The traces above are descenders which could have come from  $\text{Ca}]ρ[απήου$  and  $\text{ω}]ρ(αϷ)$ , and the one in the left margin might be ]Ϸ or  $\text{ω}]ρ(αϷ)$ . The little note may therefore have been written with more such texts on a sheet which was later cut apart. This seems plausible enough, but nothing in the editors' descriptions of other papyrus invitations suggests that the procedure is elsewhere attested, so 4339 may simply have been written on a bit of scrap papyrus.

ἐρωτᾷ σε Ἀμμώνιος δει-  
πνήσαι εἰς κλείνην τοῦ κυρίου  
Σαραπίδος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ  
Σαραπίου τῆ θ' ἀπὸ ὥρ(αϷ) θ.

1 I. κλίην      4 I. Σαραπίου; ωρ in monogram

'Ammonius requests you to dine at the banquet of the lord Sarapis in the dining hall of the Serapeum on the 9th, starting at the 9th hour.'

3-4 οἴκῳ τοῦ Σαραπίου (= -πέιου). Cf. XIV 1755 and P. Coll. Youtie I 52. 2, where see note and discussion pp. 319-320. Temples to Sarapis commonly had side rooms which one might imagine to have served for dining, but the only *triclinium* plainly identified as such in R. A. Wild, 'The known Isis-Sarapis sanctuaries of the Roman world', *ANRW* II 17. 4 1739-1851, is that of the Serapeum at Ostia, see *ibid.* p. 1803, fig. 30. A few οἴκοι are mentioned in L. Vidman, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*, see references there p. 352.

J. C. SHELTON

#### 4340. TWO LETTERS TO DIDYME

26 3B.50/G(10-11)b

12 x 29 cm

Late third century

A letter to one Didyme from a man called probably Petosiris, see 1, 36 nn., immediately followed by another to the same person from Thaeis; for some other such double letters see XLIX 3503 introd. Thaeis calls Didyme her 'daughter' (15); that may or may not be meant literally. Whether Petosiris and Thaeis are related, e.g. man and wife, is not demonstrable. Both letters deal chiefly with financial affairs and are written in the same hand in very bad Greek. A reference to *κύκλοι* (of yarn?) in 4 does not help explain the term, see note.

Line 21 mentions wine bought at sixty-four drachmas per *μετρητής*. Comparable prices refer to *κεράμια*, but the two terms are considered synonymous, see U. Wilcken, *Gr. Ostr.* I 761; a modification offered in P. Köln V 220. 7 n. deals with the tone of the words, not their metrological identification. Assuming that this is in fact the case here, the price is well above the eleven drachmas charged per *ceramion* in VII 1055 (AD 267) but should be from a time earlier than 300/1, when three hundred drachmas is attested in CPR VI 12. The most recent relevant lists known to me are in H. J. Drexhage, 'Zur Preisentwicklung im römischen Ägypten von ca. 260 n. Chr. bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians', *MBAH* 6.2 (1987) 30-45, esp. 35-8, and R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation* 66. Despite the fact that prices can fluctuate considerably in a comparatively short time, cf. e.g. LIV 3773 introd. and lines 22-4 below, the differences in the amounts just cited are probably substantial enough to require a period of inflation to explain them.

The closest figure that I have found to the one here is twenty denarii, equal to eighty drachmas, in P. Lugd. Bat. XI 26. 16-17. That document is not dated, but the use of denarii probably implies AD 296 as a *terminus a quo*; cf. in general E. Christiansen, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 271 ff.

The writing runs along the fibres. There is no sheet join.

Πετοσί(ρι)ος Διδύμη πολλὰ χέρειν.  
τὸ πορφύριον τὸ ἔπεμφες ἡμεῖν  
οὐ πεποίητε. πέμψον ἡμεῖν [ . . ] . . . -  
νον κύκλον δέσμας δέκα Δάφνη ὡς  
5 τὸ τοῦ μαφορτίου σου χρώμα { τοῦ }  
τὸ μαφόρτιον τὸ ἔχειν πώλη[Ϸ]ον (δραχμῶν) μ . .  
ἐὰν δὲ μὴ λάβῃς τὴν τιμὴν μὴ  
πώλησον, ἀλλὰ φρόνδειςον τὰς  
δραχμὰς μ καὶ πέμψον ἡμεῖν  
10 ἐν τάχει. ἐξέτασον περὶ τῆς σω-  
τη(ρί)ας τοῦ υείου Νειλοῦτος καὶ ἂν  
δεῖ γράψον ἡμεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. ἀπέ-  
τησον Τεεὺς τὴν [ . . ] Ἡρακλείδης Σα-  
ράμμοнос (δραχμὰς) μ ὑπὲρ φολέτρον.  
15 Θαῆσις Διδύμη τῆ θυγατρὶ πολλὰ  
χέρειν. παρέδωκα Ἡρακλείδης Σελ-  
μων καὶ Καπειδώλει οἴνου μετρη-  
τὰς ζ' καὶ τὸ πρόλυπον κέρματος ἀπο-  
{πο}κατέστεκα αὐτοῖς σὺν τιμῇ

20 μετρητὰς ἡς ὡς τοῦ μετρητοῦ  
 ἔνός (δραχμῶν) ξδ. ἔγραψές μοι δὲ ἡ γυνή  
 σου ἔξ ξοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ πέπρα-  
 κα τὸν οἶνον ἐκ δισσοῦ <οῦ> ἡγόρα-  
 κα καὶ σεσειμῶμε (δραχμὰς) . . . ὁ Σόεις  
 25 ἔνοχλεῖ με περὶ τὴν ἀρτάβην  
 τοῦ κύτου. κἄν νῦν πέμψον ἐπ' ἔμ(ε)  
 κόκομαν ἐλάου τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ  
 Σελμων καὶ κανίσκῳ α. πολ-  
 λά εὐ ἀσπάζω καὶ τοὺς ὑμῶν  
 30 πάντας. Ἡσεῖς πολλά εὐ ἀσπά-  
 <ζε>τε καὶ Θεονίλλα καὶ Νιλ[ο]ῦς  
 Διδύμη. ὁ γαμβρὸς Μηῆατος οὐ-  
 δέν μοι δέδωκε.  
 ἔρρωζ(θαί σε) εὐχό(μεθα), . . .

Back, downwards along the fibres:

35 π(αρά) Διδύμησ (vac.) π(αρά) Θαῆσις  
 καὶ Πετοσίρ<ι>ος

1 l. χαίρειν 2 2nd. τό=δ; 1. ἔπεμπες?, 1. ἡμῶν and so throughout 3 l. πεποιήται 5 l.  
 μαφορτίου 6 l. ὁ ἔχεις 7 λάβης; ε corr. from ν 8 l. φρόντισον 11 l. υἱοῦ 12-13 l.  
 ἀπαίτησον 13 l. Τεεῖν; [ . . . ]; α over υ; 1. Ἡρακλείδου 13-14 l. Σαράμμωνος 14 l. φορέτρον  
 15 l. θυγατρί 16 l. χαίρειν, Ἡρακλείδῃ 18 l. πρόλοιπον 18-19 l. ἀποκαθέστηκα 20 l.  
 μετρητῶν 21 ξδ; 1. ἔγραψεν 22 l. ἐκ σοῦ 23 οἶνον; ο corr. from ν 24 l. σεσημείωμαι  
 25 l. τῆς ἀρτάβης 26 επε<sup>μ</sup> 27 l. ἐλάου 28 l. κανίσκιον 29 l. σε, ἀσπάζομαι; 1st  
 alpha of ἀσπάζω corr. from ο 30-31 l. σε ἀσπάζεται 31 l. Θεωνίλλα, Νειλοῦς 34 ερρωζ,  
 ευχο<sup>μ</sup> 35 π' (bis)

'Petosiris to Didyme, many greetings. The purple which you were sending us has not been done. Send to us for Daphne ten bundles of balls of ... yarn(?), about the colour of your cloak. Sell the cloak you have for 40(+?) drachmas. If you don't get the price, don't sell, but get hold of the 40 dr. and send them to us quickly. Find out whether Nilous' son is well and write us about him if necessary. Collect 40 dr. as delivery charges from Tēeus, the daughter of Heracleides the son of Sarammon.'

'Thaësis to her daughter Didyme, many greetings. I turned seven metretae of wine over to Heracleides Selmon and Capitolis (or Capitulinus?) and paid them the rest of the money together with the price for 18 metretae at 64 dr. per metretes. Your wife (sic) wrote in your name, 'I sold the wine for twice what I had paid for it and have signed for 15(?) dr.' Sôis is bothering me about the artaba of grain. Send me straightaway

a jar of oil for Heracleides Selmon, also 1 basket. I greet you and all your family many times. Eseis, Theonilla and Neilous Didyme greet you many times. Menas' son-in-law has not given me anything. We pray for your health ...'

Back: 'From Didyme (sic) from Thaësis and Petosiris.'

1 Πετοσί<ρι>ος. The name Πετόσιος has been read once before, doubtfully, in II 243 (=M. Chr. 182) 5, but line 36 below gives the genitive as πετοσίρος. The writer may well have intended the appropriate form of Πετοσίρις in both places, but it is also thinkable that each line uses a different part of a double name.

2-3 The meaning is very uncertain. Perhaps read rather πέπομφας and translate, 'the purple which you have sent us has not been made (up)', i.e. if cloth, into clothes, if yarn, into cloth. If the imperfect is meant, perhaps the sense is, 'the purple which you were to send to us has not arrived'. If so, lines 3-4 may imply that the purple was dealt with in κύκλοι, and if that is so, it was presumably yarn rather than cloth or dye. For τό as relative see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 179. It occurs again in line 6.

3-4 [ . . . ] . . . τον κύκλον δέμας δέκα Δάφνη. It seems natural to suppose that this delivery was wanted as a substitute for the purple just mentioned, but the traces before κύκλον are not ἀντ' αὐτοῦ or the like. Despite ἡμῶν (3), δάφνη is grammatically simplest if taken as a name in the dative, 'send us for Daphne'. Grammar aside, δάφνη as a colour term for dark green would also be attractive. If δάφνη is a proper name, the following words, 'about the colour of your cloak', give the colour desired; if δάφνη itself is a colour, they define the shade more closely.

In κύκλον δέμας δέκα lies the quantity to be sent. The text as it stands could mean 'a κύκλος and ten δέμας' or 'a κύκλος, that is, ten δέμας'; κύκλος would then be a unit of measure. This interpretation may receive some support from P. Cair. Zen. IV 59776. 9-10, which mentions δέμας ζ (ἡμῶν), κύκλοι οε of wool, a proportion of ten κύκλοι to the bundle. But Hagedorn has argued that in related contexts κύκλια refers to the form of the substance, 'balls' of wool, 'spools' of thread or the like, P. Köln II 124 introd. The weight of the κύκλια in P. Köln 124 (73 weigh only 4 lbs.) suggests yarn rather than finished cloth. He would apply this also to the κύκλοι of the Zeno papyrus. That may also be true of P. Berl. Zill. 11. 19 and 22, and it is tempting here as well. On that view κύκλον is an error for κύκλων, but this text is full of mistakes. The traces before κύκλον are probably from a word modifying it; the end of the line looks like mu or lambda plus another letter; λῖνον for λινῶν is attractive at first sight, but it is hard to imagine what might have filled the gap and left the trace before that.

6 ἔχειν for ἔχεις. See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 131-2. Cf. λαβην corrected to λάβης in 7, Τεεῖν for Τεεῖν in 13, though that may be case confusion without a phonological basis, ἔγραψες for ἔγραψεν in 21, and περὶ τὴν ἀρτάβην for τῆς ἀρτάβης in 25.

The obvious reading of the figure at the end of the line is μη, but μς' is also thinkable, and that would harmonize with μ in 9.

11-12 ἄν δεῖ. Cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik* ii.1 p. 284, B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 270 §601, but it is just possible that we should write δέι and understand it as a phonetic writing of δέη.

14 It may be coincidence that 40 dr. appears again here, but perhaps this is to be the source of the money if the cloak is not sold.

16-17 Ἡρακλείδης (l. -η) Σελμων. Σελμων is not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. It distinguishes this man from Heracleides son of Sarammon in 13-14, but it is not clear whether it is a patronymic or a second name. The same person recurs in 27-8.

16-21 Thaësis turns wine over to these men, yet buys wine from them too. Possibly the first lot was only on consignment and went unsold; or it was unsatisfactory and returned for replacement, a possibility commonly specified in wine sales in advance. There may be other explanations.

17 Καπειδώλει. In D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon* we find a name Καπιτώλις, deriving only from P. Athen. 65.2 ἀπελήλυ[θ]α παρὰ Καπιτώλειον, which has been corrected to Καπιτωλείου (BL VIII 390 from P. Turner 20.10 n.), and in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* there is Καπιτώλειος, recorded only from P. Lond. II 188. 83 (p. 144) Θεοῦδιος Καπιτωλείου, but this should presumably be presented as θεοῦ Διδος Καπιτωλ{ε}ίου, while in line 130 Θ[εων] Σαραπίδος should appear as θ[εων] Σαράπιδος. The ends of both lines still present difficulties. Here perhaps read Καπειδώλει<ν>, a phonetic spelling of the common name Capitulinus, comparing the omission of syllables in lines 11, 23, 26 and 31.

21-2 ἡ γυνή σου seems an unavoidable reading, though the letter is to a woman. The writer must be thinking of her husband.

24 The doubtful figure, which is not damaged but oddly written, could perhaps be ιε or κ or μ, 15, 20, 40, all less than the cost of a single μετρητής in line 21. Perhaps the sum is not related to the wine transaction; cecemείωμαι often appears in orders to disburse money or goods.

27 κόκομαν ἐλάου. Cf. κούκκουμαν ἐλάου in P. Giss. Univ. III 25. 8-9. On the *cucuma* see LIX 3998 36 n. (pp. 149-50).

31-2 The nominatives may be further subjects of ἀσπάζεται or errors for the accusative. I have translated Νιλ[ο]ύς Διδύμη as a double name, cf. e.g. R. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 248, P. Petaus pp. 54 ff. and perhaps Ἡρακλείδης Σελμων above. Metonymics are also known, e.g. P. Heid. IV 321.6 n., but that would require correction to Διδύμης. There is no reason to think that καί has been lost after Νιλ[ο]ύς.

34 εὐχόμεθα seems likelier than εὐχοίμαι. The next word seems not to be θύγατερ or even ἀδελφή, which is not expected after θυγατρει in 15. The damage is severe and the writing rapid and clumsy.

35 By way of correction one could print <ἀ>π(όδο)ς Διδύμη{ε}, 'deliver to Didyme', but it is clear that the writer simply wrote π(αρά) Διδύμης, 'from Didyme' by mistake.

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#### 4341. REPORT CONCERNING WORK ON A DYKE

40 5B.108/D(1-3)a

18 × 27.5 cm

24 July 319

A report similar to 4342, XLIX 3474, XII 1546 and SB XVI 12335, listing amounts of earth moved during one month's work on the irrigation system. The unit of measurement, the ναύβιον, represents nine cubic cubits, about 2.628 cubic metres, see CPR VI i p. 47. The report is addressed to the strategus by two persons whose titles are not given. Judging by 4342 and SB 12335, χωματεπιστάται and/or λογογράφοι are probable; χωματεπιμεληταί and χωματεπεϊκται seem to have functioned at a higher level than these village officials and our text is probably in any case too late for the former, cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 44 (1964) 9-19, M. Peachin, *BASP* 19 (1982) 162-3. For bibliography see P. Heid. IV 320 introd.

4341 comes from a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος, presumably part of the records of the strategus despite the rather careless drafting. A second report from the same date was pasted to the right of this. Traces of nineteen lines are preserved, but except for the clumsy subscription [Αὐρήλιος] Καρμάτης ἐπιδέδωκα they are not worth transcribing. The back contains a mutilated grain account.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσ]ποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου  
 Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε<sup>-</sup>] καὶ Λικιννίου τοῦ ἐπι-  
 φανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α<sup>-</sup>. Αὐρήλιω Εὐδαίμον[ι  
 c. 15 letters στρα]τηγῶ Ὀξυρυγίτου.  
 5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίω Ζωΐλου Ὠρου καὶ Ψύτος  
 c. 6 letters ] ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Ἰσχυ-  
 c. 6 letters ] ζ' πάγου. λόγος πενθημέρω(ν)

τῶν δι' ἐ]μοῦ ἀπεργασθέντων ναυβίων  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ]δε τοῦ μηνὸς Ἐπειφ εἰς τὸ ἐξήκ  
 10 δηλούμε]να χῶμα ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ {υ} ν(αύβια) λέ.  
 ἐπὶ χῶματ]ος ἐκ νότου Σεφῶ ν(αύβια) τὰ προκ(είμενα),  
 τὰ καὶ] ἀπεργασθέντα ὑ<πὸ> τῶν ἀ<πὸ> τῆς ἡμετέρας κώμ[ης  
 ὑ(πὲρ) κεφαλῆς] καὶ κωμητικῆς κτήσεως.  
 τὰ καὶ οὕτως] ἀπεργασθέντα.  
 15 ἀπὸ .] ἕως ε ν(αύβια) ε  
 ἀπὸ ζ] ἕως [ια ν(αύβια) ε  
 ἀπὸ ιβ ἕως ις] ν(αύβια) ε  
 ἀπὸ ιζ ἕως κα] ν(αύβια) ε  
 ἀπὸ κβ] ἕως κς ν(αύβια) ε  
 20 ἀπὸ κζ] ἕως λ ν(αύβια) ε,  
 γίνοντ]αι τὰ προκ(είμενα).  
 ὑπατείας τῆς πρ]οκιμένης, Ἐπειφ λ'.  
 (m. 2) Αὐρήλιω] Ζωΐλου καὶ Ψοῖς ἐπιδέδωκα-  
 μεν. Αὐρ]ήλιος Ἀμμώνιος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν  
 25 γράμματα μ]ῆ εἰδότων.

2 του corr. from Σεβ 4 οξυρυγίτου 5 ]ωλου 6 μ in ἀμφοτέρων corr. from π; ἰσχυ  
 7 πενθημερῶ 8 l. δι' ἡμῶν 10 l. δηλούμενοι; υς, and so throughout 11, 21 προ<sup>ς</sup>  
 22 l. προκειμένης 23 l. Ζωΐλος

In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the 5th time and Licinius, the most noble Caesar, for the 1st time. To Aurelius Eudaemon (alias Helladius?), strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Zoilus son of Horus and Aurelius Psoes son of ..., both from the hamlet of Ischy ... of the 7th pagus. Account by five-day periods of the naubia dug under my (*sic*) supervision for the present month of Epeiph on the embankment specified below to the sum total of 35 naubia: on the embankment to the south of Sepho the aforesaid naubia, which were those dug by the men from our village in respect of capitation and village property, dug as follows:

From the (1st or 2nd) to the 6th	6 naubia
From the 7th to the 11th	6 naubia
From the 12th to the 16th	6 naubia
From the 17th to the 21st	6 naubia
From the 22nd to the 26th	6 naubia
From the 27th to the 30th	5 naubia. <sup>7</sup>
'Total the aforesaid.'	

‘In the aforesaid consulship, Epeiph 30th.’

‘We, Aurelius Zōilus and Aurelius Psoes submitted (this report). I, Aurelius Ammonius, wrote on their behalf because they do not know letters.’

3-4 The strategus Eudaemon may be the untitled official in XLIV 3194, of 29 April 323, and/or the Eudaemon alias Helladius of LX 4076 possibly of 320, see *ibid.* 4 n. A deputy strategus Herminus was acting in March 319, about four months before this text (LIV 3746).

6-7 The ἐποίκιον is not listed in P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*.

8 The damaged beginning of the line was not the expected τῶν δι' ἡμῶν, cf. 4342 i 5. Probably τῶν δι' ἐ]μοῦ was written by mistake.

10 Despite the false congruence a modifier of χῶμα is inescapable here. The parallels show that this should have been δηλούμενον: 4342 i 7, SB XVI 12335. 9.

11 Sepho, like the hamlet in 6, was in the 7th pagus, see Pruneti, *op. cit.* s.v.

13 For the restoration of ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς and discussion of the meaning see 4342 i 10 n., with ii 15-16, iii 5-6. Village land recurs in 4342 ii 15-16 and should be meant in iii 6; κωμητικῆς should probably be restored instead of ἰδιω]τικῆς in SB XVI 12335. 16. The individual receipts issued for naubia listed in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros Certificates* 38-45 plus P. Mich. XV pp. 154-7 and P. Heid. IV p. 164 have nothing comparable.

15 ἀπὸ β] rather than ἀπὸ α would be required to give the regular five day period for six naubia in this text (16-19), but I find no obvious reason for not working on the 1st (=25 June). A very few texts of other types allow a weekly day of rest (at this time probably still Thursday, see LIV 3741 introd.), but that was plainly not the case here. Parallel texts leave no days out, so there is some chance that after all ἀπὸ α was written. In that case we should have, exceptionally, an accounting period of six days. It is noticeable that the product is only six naubia, as from the five day periods in 16-19, while the reduced accounting period of four days in 20 produces a reduced load of only five naubia, but no argument can be derived from this because there are similar variations in amount from regular five-day periods, see 4342 ii 19-20, iii 9-10.

23 The spelling Ψυτὸδὲ for Ψοίτος in 5 suggests that we should write Ψοίς and not Ψοίε here.

J. C. SHELTON

#### 4342. REPORT CONCERNING WORK ON DYKES

40 5B.94/F(4)a

29.5 × 12.5 cm

Fourth century

Three columns from a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος with reports comparable to 4341, see introd. there. The addressee is unknown. 4341 and SB XVI 12335 were sent to the strategus. P. Laur. IV 167, which is likely to have been similar, was addressed to χωματεπεῖκται.

Col. i reports work done by residents of Cercemunis on a dyke named Διοίτου, which apparently ran near six hamlets. In col. i 11-16 it is stated that these dug in each case ten naubia; in i 18-20 the same amount of work is divided up into six five-day periods. If, as seems natural, these groupings correspond to one another, then work at Trigyu was done on Phamenoth 1-5 (25 or 26 Feb.-1 March), work at Olympiados North on Phamenoth 6-10 (2-6 March), and so on. This is a more complicated pattern of report than that used in the parallel documents. Whether it was also applied in cols. ii and iii is uncertain because of the textual damage there.

The reports are all signed by three or four officials. In the subscriptions they do

not state their posts, but at least in the first column they must be λογογράφοι and χωματεπειστάται (i 3-4), and there is a strong presumption that this is the case throughout. Despite the fact that the texts must concern a variety of villages and are all dated to the same day, Phamenoth 30 = 26 March, the last two names are invariably Aurelius Hatres and Aurelius Horus, but their subscriptions are each time in a different hand. I think it probable therefore that these two men were regional officials who used unnamed representatives to subscribe for them. The remaining subscribers, whose names change from report to report, will have been active at village level. SB XVI 12335.5 indicates that this is appropriate for χωματεπειστάται. If that is correct for our text too, then Hatres and Horus were the λογογράφοι and the other men χωματεπειστάται, but the names in i 1-3 are so damaged that I cannot confirm this, cf. notes there.

The writing runs along the fibres. The back contains a farm account, published below as 4343.

Col. i

c. 9 letters ] . . να . [ . ] . [ . ] . [ . ] .  
 c. 5 ἀπὸ κ]ώμης Ταλαῶ λογογράφων κ[αὶ . . . . .] . . . . . [ . ] υ  
 c. 9 letters ] . ιτος ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ ἐποικί[ο]υ Τριγύ[ο]υ  
 χωμ]ατεπειστατῶν πεδίων Κερκεμούνε[ω]ς α] π[άγου.  
 5 λόγος] πενθημέρων τῶν δι' ἡμῶν ἀπεργ[α]ς—  
 θέντ]ω[ν να]υβίων ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ μηνὸς Φαμενώθ  
 εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς δ]ηλούμενον χῶμα, να[ύβια] [ξ]'  
 ἐπὶ χῶμα]τος Διοίτου καλουμένου,  
 ἀπερ] ἀνεβλήθη διὰ τῶν ἐποικιω[τ]ῶν  
 10 ὑπὲρ κ]εφαλῆς (vac.) οὕτως:  
 ἐποικί]ου Τριγύου, Κορνηλιανοῦ, να[ύβια] [ι  
 ἐπ]οικίου Ὀλυμπιάδος βορίνης να[ύβια] ι  
 το]ῦ αὐτοῦ ἐποικίου νοτίνης να[ύβια] ι  
 ἐποί]κιον Κελχουπετ, Ε[ὺ]λογίου Ματρίνου να[ύβια] ι  
 15 ἐπο]ικίου Ληνῶνος να[ύβια] ι  
 ἐ]ποικίου Πολέμου, Ἀχιλλέως Ἀσκληπιάδου να[ύβια] ι  
 τ]ὰ προκείμενα, τὰ καὶ ἀπεργασθέντα οὕτως:  
 ἀ]πὸ α ἕως ε να[ύβια] ι ἀπὸ ις ἕως κ να[ύβια] ι  
 ἀπὸ σ ἕως ι να[ύβια] ι ἀπὸ κα ἕως κε να[ύβια] ι  
 20 ἀπὸ] ια ἕως ιε να[ύβια] ι ἀπὸ κς ἕως λ να[ύβια] ι.  
 ὑπ]ατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης), Φαμενώθ λ.  
 (m. 2) Αὐρήλιοι Πασαλλῶς καὶ Θῶνις ἐπιδεδώκαμεν. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἡρων ἔγραψα

- 23 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γρ]άμμ(ατα) μὴ εἰδώτοις.  
 (m. 3) Αὐρ]ήλιος Ἄτρῆς συνεπιδέδωκα.  
 (m. 4) Αὐρ]ήλιος Ὡρος συνεπιδέδωκα.

## Col. ii

Traces of the first letters of about ten lines. Then:

- (m. 5) . [ c. 10 letters ] . [   
 κ[αἰ ἐπὶ χῶ]μ(ατος) ἐκ ν[ότου  
 κα[ἰ ἐ]πὶ χῶμ(ατος) ἐκ βορ[ρᾶ  
 τὰ προκείμενα, τὰ καὶ ἀν[αβληθέντ]α  
 15 ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ὑπὲρ κ]ωμη-  
 τικῆς κτήσεως καὶ κεφ[αλῆς  
 τὰ καὶ ἀπεργασθέντα (vac.) οὕτως:  
 ἀπὸ α ἕως ε ν(αύβια) μβ ἀπὸ ις ἕως κ ν(αύβια) μβ  
 ἀπὸ ς ἕως ι ν(αύβια) μβ ἀπὸ κα ἕως κε ν(αύβια) μα  
 20 ἀπὸ ια ἕως ιε ν(αύβια) μβ ἀπὸ κς ἕως λ ν(αύβια) μα.  
 ὑπατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης), Φαμενώθ λ.  
 (m. 6) Αὐρ]ήλιος Cιλβανὸς ἐπιδέδωκα. Α[ὐ]ρ]ήλιος  
 23 Ἑρμείας ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ (αὐτοῦ) γράμμ(ατα) μὴ εἰδότ(ος).  
 (m. 7) Αὐρ]ήλιος Ἄτρῆς συνεπιδέδωκα.  
 (m. 8) Αὐρ]ήλιος Ὡρος συνεπιδέδωκα.

## Col. iii

Starts at about the level of col. i 13 and col. ii 12

- (m. 9) . . . [ . . . ] . [   
 καὶ ἐπὶ χῶμ(ατος) ἐ[κ] βορρᾶ Ξενάρχου[ν] ν(αύβια)  
 τὰ προκείμενα, ἄπερ ἀνεβλήθη οὕ[τως]:  
 πολ(ιτ- ) Διονύσιος Ἰερακίωνος ν(αύβια) . [   
 5 καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ὑπὲρ κ]εφαλῆς  
 καὶ κτήσεως ν(αύβια) [λε,  
 τὰ προκείμενα, τὰ καὶ ἀπεργασθέντα οὕτω[ς]:  
 ἀπὸ α ἕως ε ν(αύβια) ς ἀπὸ ις ἕως κ ν(αύβια) ς  
 ἀπὸ ς ἕως ι ν(αύβια) ς ἀπὸ κα ἕως κε ν(αύβια) ς

- 10 ἀπὸ ια ἕως ιε ν(αύβια) ς ἀπὸ κς ἕως λ ν(αύβια) ε  
 ὑπατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης), Φαμενώθ [λ].  
 (m. 10) Αὐρ]ήλιος Παπνοῦτις ἐπιδέδωκα. Αὐρ]ήλιο[ς  
 13 . . .]ων ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ ε[ἰδότος].  
 (m. 11) Αὐρ]ήλιος Ἄτρῆς συνεπιδέδωκα.  
 (m. 12) Αὐρ]ήλιος Ὡρος συνεπιδέδ[ωκα].

## Col. i

7, 11-16 να/ 17 l. προκείμενα 18-20 νς 19 ς corr. from ε 21 προ<sup>ς</sup>  
 22 αυρς 23 γραμμς; l. εἰδότην

## Col. ii

12, 13 χωμς 14 l. προκείμενα 18-20 νς 21 προ<sup>ς</sup> 23 υπερ<sup>λ</sup> γραμμς, εἰδοτς

## Col. iii

2 χωμς 3, 7 l. προκείμενα 4 πολ', Ἰερακίωνος, νς 5 κωμῶν 6-10 νς 11 προ<sup>ς</sup>

Col. i '... from the village of Talao, writers of accounts, and ... and ..., both from the hamlet of Trigyu, chomatepistatae for the fields of Cercemunis of the 1st pagus. Account by five-day periods of the naubia dug through us in the present month of Phamenoth on the embankment specified below to the sum total of 60 naubia: on the embankment called Dioetu, which were thrown up by agency of the residents of the hamlets in respect of capitation, as follows:

- Epoecium Trigyu, Cornelianus, 10 naubia.  
 Epoecium Olympiados North, 10 naubia.  
 The same epoecium, South, 10 naubia.  
 Epoecium Celchupet(?), Eulogius son of Matrinus, 10 naubia.  
 Epoecium Lenonos, 10 naubia.  
 Epoecium Polemu, Achilles son of Asclepiades, 10 naubia.'  
 'Total the aforesaid, dug as follows:

'From the 1st to the 5th, 10 naubia. From the 16th to the 20th, 10 naubia.  
 From the 6th to the 10th, 10 naubia. From the 21st to the 25th, 10 naubia.  
 From the 11th to the 15th, 10 naubia. From the 26th to the 30th, 10 naubia.'

'In the aforesaid consulship, Phamenoth 30th.'

(2nd hand) 'We, Aurelius Paallos and Aurelius Thonis, submitted (this report). I, Aurelius Heron, wrote on their behalf because they do not know letters.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelius Hatres, joined in submitting (this report).'

(4th hand) 'I, Aurelius Horus, joined in submitting (this report).'

Col. ii '... and on the embankment to the south of ..., and on the embankment to the north of ..., the aforesaid (number of naubia), which were thrown up by the

residents of the same village in respect of village property and capitation, which were dug as follows:

‘From the 1st to the 5th, 42 naubia.                      From the 16th to the 20th, 42 naubia.  
From the 6th to the 10th, 42 naubia.                      From the 21st to the 25th, 41 naubia.  
From the 11th to the 15th, 42 naubia.                      From the 26th to the 30th, 41 naubia.’

‘In the aforesaid consulship, Phamenoth 30th.’

(6th hand) ‘I, Aurelius Silvanus, submitted (this report). I, Aurelius Hermias, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.’

(7th hand) ‘I, Aurelius Hatres, joined in submitting (this report).’

(8th hand) ‘I, Aurelius Horus, joined in submitting (this report).’

Col. iii ‘... and on the embankment to the north of Xenarchu ... naubia, total the aforesaid, which were thrown up as follows:

‘Town residents: Dionysius son of Hieracion, to a total of ... naubia,  
‘And by the residents of the same village in respect of capitation and (village?) property, to a total of 35 naubia. Total the aforesaid, which were dug as follows:

‘From the 1st to the 5th, 6 naubia.                      From the 16th to the 20th, 6 naubia.  
From the 6th to the 10th, 6 naubia.                      From the 21st to the 25th, 6 naubia.  
From the 11th to the 15th, 6 naubia.                      From the 26th to the 30th, 5 naubia.’

‘In the aforesaid consulship, Phamenoth 30th.’

(10th hand) ‘I, Aurelius Papnutis, submitted (this report). I, Aurelius ... on, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.’

(11th hand) ‘I, Aurelius Hatres, joined in submitting (this report).’

(12th hand) ‘I, Aurelius Horus, joined in submitting (this report).’

Col. i

1 It does not seem possible to read any of the names in lines 22–5 before *Χαραπίωνος*.

2 *Ταλαώ*. See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 193–4. It was in the Lower toparchy, i.e. the northern part of the nome, although the pair following were from the southern part of the nome, and so are most of the other places named.

2–3 If the argument in the introduction is correct, the names of the *χωματεπιστάται* were Paallos and Thonis (22), but I cannot read them here if they were declined. If left undeclined, as often happens, *καὶ Θωνίης* *Χύ[ρο]υ* [*καὶ Πααλλῶς Ψ[ύ]τος* would be plausible. *καὶ Πααλλῶς* is a bit long, but a shorter spelling such as *Παλῶς* might have been used. However, the identification of these two as *χωματεπιστάται* is not altogether certain and *καὶ Ἀτρήτου* *Χύ[ρο]υ* [*καὶ Ὁρου Ψ[ύ]τος* would also fit the traces.

3 All the references to *Τριγύου*, *Τριγύου* or *Τρίγου* in Pruneti, op. cit., come from the sixth century. Its location in the southern part of the nome was known, see LV 3804 introd. p. 96, although it was associated there with the village of Iseum Panga, rather than with Cercmunis, as here.

4 *χωματεπιστατών*. This is the third attestation of these officials, see M. Peachin, *BASP* 19 (1982) 162–3. The pagus of Cercmunis was not known before. Like all other known places in the 1st pagus, it had previously been in the Upper toparchy, see LV 3795 introd.

8 *Διοίτου* looks like a personal name, but it is not to be found in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, or W. Pape, G. E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*.

10 *ὑπὲρ κ[εφαλῆς]*. Cf. ii 15–16 *ὑπὲρ κ[ωμητικῆς κτήσεως καὶ κεφ[αλῆς]*, iii 5–6 *ὑπὲρ κ[εφαλῆς] καὶ κτήσεως*, 4341 13 [*ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς] καὶ κωμητικῆς κτήσεως*. The comparison of these passages leaves very little

doubt of the readings in spite of the dots. The *κεφαλή* must be connected with Diocletian's new system of tax assessment by *iugum* and *caput*, but it has not occurred before in connection with the dyke corvée, and is in any case one of the least understood aspects of the fourth century tax system, see R. S. Bagnall, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 185–95: he concludes that it is a measure of land and only connected with the person by abstruse calculation (194).

11, 14, 16 In these lines we have the names of persons after the names of the hamlets. Since hamlets could be privately owned and are often named after persons who are thought to have been former owners, it seems likely that here these are their owners or at least the major landowners in them.

11 *Κορηλιανού*. This man might be the prytanis of 294, who bore the title of *διασημότατος*, see XLVI 3297 1 n.

12 *Ὀλυμπιάδος*. Pruneti, op. cit. cites only XVI 2025 18 from the sixth or seventh century. *Βορόνης* here and *νοτόνης* in the next line probably either refer to parts of Olympiados or distinguish two villages of that name. Alternatively, one might think of a northern or southern *διώρυξ* (or other feminine noun) branching off from the Dioetu embankment at Olympiados, but specific canals are not named elsewhere in the text and I doubt whether the assumption of work not done on the embankment itself is compatible with line 8.

14 *Κελχουπετ* is unknown.

*Ε[ὺ]λογίου Ματρίνου*. A boat with a capacity of at least 830 artabas belonging to a Eulogius son of Matrinus is mentioned in XLII 3079 8, assigned to the fourth century.

15 *Αηνῶνος*. Since we have been led to expect locations in the first pagus, i.e. in the most southerly part of the nome, it is somewhat surprising that this hamlet belonged to the 4th pagus and before that to the Western toparchy, see Pruneti, op. cit. 96. Presumably it lay in the south-west.

16 *Πολέμου* is unknown, and hardly likely to be the same as *Πολέμωνος*.

An Achilles son of Asclepiades described as a former prytanis in 345 occurs in P. Wisc. I 12.2. That is probably later than 4342, but not too late for a possible identification.

Col. ii

12, 13 After *ν[ότου]* and *βορ[ρᾶ]* one expects the name of a village, cf. 4341 11 and col. iii 2 below.

15–16 Cf. i 10 n.

Col. iii

2 *Ξενάρχου* [v]. This, like most of the places in 4342, is known to have been in the 1st pagus, see Pruneti, op. cit. 125.

4 *πολ(ιτ-)*. This denotes a metropolitan who held land in the village, cf. P. Cair. Isid. 9 introd. Dionysius son of Hieracion is not known, but a prytanis of 305 or 306 called Hieracion alias Dionysius, see XXXIII 2665 3 and n., is quite likely to have been related.

5 Cf. i 10 n.

6 *κ[τήσεως]*. For *κωμητικῆς κτήσεως*? Cf. 4341 13 n.

13 The damaged name could be *Ἡρ[ων]* as in i 22, but the hands are not the same.

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#### 4343. ESTATE ACCOUNT

40 5B.94/F(4)a

29.5 × 12.5 cm

Fourth century

An account of expenses on an estate, written on the back of 4342 and upside down in respect to that text. The heading in line 1, *ἀναλώματος ὁμοίως*, implies that a section concerning *λῆμμα*, income, was once written, but it is no longer preserved. All sums are expressed in terms of wheat. Some comparable papyri are listed in P. Mich. XI p. 63 n. 3.

The writing runs across the fibres of the verso of 4342, which consists of the backs of three adjoining reports surviving from a τόμος συγκολλησίμος.

## Col. i

ἀναλώματος ὁμοίως  
ἐνεβλήθη εἰς τὸ δημόσιον πλοῖον  
    αἰτου ῥυπαροῦ (ἀρτ.) ω [[οβς]] 'ις'  
    [ιτομετρικοῦ (ἀρτ.) δ'  
5 Δωροθέω εἰδίω ἐξ ἐπιστά<λ>μα-  
    τος (ἀρτ.) ζ'  
    Πανὲ ποιμένι ἐξ ἐπιστάλμα-  
    τος (ἀρτ.) γ [[ς]]  
    τῷ αὐτῷ Πανὲ ποιμένι ἐξ  
10 ἐπιστάλματος (ἀρτ.) [[ιγς]]'[[α]]'(ἀρτ.?) ις'  
    Λέοντι ταυρελάτῃ ὑπὲρ ὀψω-  
    νίου (ἀρτ.) κ  
    τῆ γεούχω ὑπὲρ τιμῆς χύρου  
    το]ῦ ἀφέντος αὐτῆ (ἀρτ.) .[.] ζ'  
15 Ἀ]μμωνᾶ ὑπὲρ συντάξεως (ἀρτ.)[  
    ... ]τάρχω ὀνηλάτῃ (ἀρτ.)[  
    ... ]ᾶ εἰς κολλούρια (ἀρτ.)[  
    ... ]κ... οἰς (ἀρτ.)[  
    ... ]... θη εἰς τὰς τρύγας  
20 ... ]... (ἀρτ.) γ ἄρτων (ἀρτ.) γ, [ὄμ]οῦ (ἀρτ.) ς[  
    ... ]... [ c. 10 letters ] . [

## Col. ii

Ἀφοῦτι προς{c}βυτέρω καὶ Ἀμμων[ι  
    Ἀσυνκριτίου ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ νε[ο]φύτ[ου  
    Χωρίου Κεραμίου (ἀρτ.)[  
25 Ἀτρῆ υἱῷ Λωτᾶ εἰς κατασπορᾶν [  
    Ἐὐλογίω εἰς κατασπορᾶν [  
    Παθερμουθίω ἡπητῆ εἰς κατα-  
    σπορᾶν (vac.) [

Ἀμμωνι Ἀσυνκριτίου εἰς κατα-  
30 σπορᾶν (ἀρτ.)[  
    Παύλῳ Ἀρεᾶ εἰς κατασπορᾶν [  
    Ἀβουρίω ἀπὸ Φανκόνα εἰς κα[τα-  
    σπορᾶν (vac.) [

5 l. ἰδίω 11 ὑπερ 13 l. χοίρου 15 ὑπερ 22 l. πρεσβυτέρω 25 υἱῷ

## Col. i

'Expenses likewise:  
'There were loaded into the public boat in uncleaned wheat: art. 816.  
'Fee for measuring grain: art. 4  
'To our own (slave?) Dorotheus according to order: art. 7  
'To Panes, shepherd, according to order: art. 3  
'To the same Panes, shepherd, according to order: art. 10½  
'To Leon, bull driver, for his salary: art. 20  
'To the lady landowner, in respect of the value of the pig  
released to her: art. ...  
'To Ammonas in respect of his allowance: art. ...  
'To (Plu?)tarchus, donkey driver: art. ...  
'To ... for colluria: art. ...  
'To ... art. ...  
'(There were expended?) towards the vintages:  
'... wheat(?) art. 3, loaves art. 3, together: art. 6

## Col. ii

'To Aphus the elder (priest?) and Ammon son of Asyncritius, in respect of rent on  
the newly planted vineyard at Chorium Ceramiu(?): art. ...  
'To Hatres son of Lotas, for sowing:  
'To Eulogius, for sowing:  
'To Pathermuthis the tailor, for sowing:  
'To Ammon son of Asyncritius, for sowing: art. ...  
'To Paulus son of Harsas, for sowing:  
'To Aburis, from Phancona, for sowing:

2-3 These lines presumably concern taxes, so ῥυπαροῦ may not refer to the condition of the wheat but mean instead that extra charges were included in the sum stated, cf. e.g. P. Mich. VI 372. 9 n.; but fourth century receipts can mention supplementary fees whether the primary payment was καθαρός as in XLVIII 3395 or ῥυπαρός as in P. Neph. 27.

4 Charges for measuring grain are rarely mentioned but span virtually the whole papyrological period; cf. IV 740 3, P. Hib. I 10. 14, P. Iand. 63. 2 and 7, P. Erl. 97. 13. There is no obvious relation between the amount charged and the amount measured.

5 *εἰδίω*, l. *ἰδίω*. This word is used similarly in other accounts, e.g. L 3598 4, 6. It may designate a slave, see 3597 15 n., but J. A. Straus is cautious on the point in *ANRW* II 10. 1 p. 851 with n. 27. XLVI 3314 14–15 gives quite a different tone in *ἴδιοι*.

Orders called *ἐπιτάγματα* seem to have had no special form. There are many examples expressly so called in CPR VI i 12 ff., cf. also e.g. P. Prag. I 104 (the *ἐπίταγμα* referred to in SB VI 9052. 21) and P. Alex. 13 with corrections by H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* II 934–6 (= *ZPE* 1 (1967) 170–172).

10 The original figure 13½ was corrected by writing alpha over gamma and drawing strokes through γδ; then the whole was cancelled and ιδ written farther to the right.

13–14 *χύρου* (l. *χοίρου*) [το]ῦ ἀφέντος αὐτοῦ. Cf. XXII 2353 13–14 *εἰ θέλει ἀφῆσαι τὸ χυρίδιον, μὴ θῆσαι δε (= δε) στου ἔλθῃ*, 'If you want to dispose of the pig, don't kill it till he comes'. As an alternative to interpreting *χύρου* as *χοίρου* one might read <ἀ>*χύρου*.

16 . . . ]τάρχῳ. A common name, such as Plutarchus, is expected, rather than a grand one, such as Aristarchus.

17 Perhaps *Ἀμμων* again as in 15.

On *κολούρια* see LIX 4000 26 n. It seems likely that in this context, as in 4000, where they are measured by the artaba, *κολούρια* refers to a type of sweet bun, and that the grain is being supplied directly to be baked into them. The spelling is not a reliable guide, but it seems much less likely that there is any reference here to the eye salves known as *κολύρια*.

18 It is difficult to read τοῖς κυρίοις, as there would be very little room for iota after rho. *κυροῖς* might do, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 302, or (name)] *καὶ υἱοῖς*.

19 We expect ἀνη]λώθη, cf. 1, perhaps indented or preceded by *καί*, but the abrasion has removed so much ink that it cannot be confirmed.

20 Here the suggested sense is that we should expect *τίττον*, again perhaps indented, to contrast with *ἄρτων*, both totalled together, and this seems attractive, but [δμ]οῦ is not perhaps the only possibility.

22 *προς*{c}βυτέρῳ (l. *πρεβυτέρῳ*). This text is too late for a village elder. The word can mean 'priest', but here it may distinguish an older Aphas from a younger.

23–4 *χωρίου Κεραμίου* looks like a place name, of which there may be some shadowy trace already, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 78 s.v. ΚΕΡΑ ( ).

25 *Λωτᾶ*. *Λωτᾶς* is not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, though similar names are listed.

32 *Ἀβουρίω*. The form is probably a dative of *Ἀβοῦρις*, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 25–9.

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#### 4344. NOMINATION OF SITOLOGI

23 3B.3/D(2–3)a

14 × 24 cm

342

The tesserarius, comarchs, and 'the rest of the villagers' of Posompöys present the strategus with the names of four men to serve as sitologi for the *ιδιωτικὸς κανὼν*, see 9 n., on the harvest of the first indiction, which according to the latest study of the subject will have run from 26 April 342 to 25 April 343, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 9–16, 26–7, 68; cf. also LI 3621 introd. and n. 9.

4344 is the latest nomination to a routine liturgy known to have been submitted to a strategus: the only other instance of this procedure after the introduction of the *praepositus pagi*, who was the usual recipient of such texts in the fourth century, is P. Leit. 3, from c. AD 313. That fourth century strategoi were concerned with the appointment of some *ad hoc* liturgists, however, is clear from SB I 4513 and P. Mert. II 90, and in

view of their rôle as supervisors of tax collection an interest in the subordinate officials concerned is understandable enough.

The only other Oxyrhynchite nominations to the sitologia yet published are PSI X 1106 and 1107 (AD 336, two copies of the same text) and LI 3621. Cf. for the Arsinoite nome P. Berl. Leihg. II 45 (c. 164), P. Petaus 59 (185), P. Leit. 3 (c. 313), P. Thead. 50 = P. Sakaon 51 (324); and for the Hermopolite P. Lugd. Bat. XI 2 (339), P. Cair. Preisigke 18–19 (339), and P. Amh. II 139 = W. Chr. 406 (350). A bibliography on the liturgy is given in P. Petaus p. 231; cf. also XXXVI 2769 and P. Mich. XI 604 with the commentaries.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίος τὸ γ'  
καὶ Κωνσταντος τὸ β' Ἀγούστῳ. (vac.)  
Κλαυδίῳ Ἡρακλήῳ Ἡρακλήου στρατηγῷ Ὁξυρυγ(ίτου)  
π[α]ρὰ Ἀδρηλίων Παῦλος Παθατρῆτος τεσσαλαρίου  
5 καὶ Ὠρος Ὠρου καὶ Καμῆς Ὠρίωνος κωμαρχῶν  
τῶν πά]ντων {τῶν} ἀπὸ κώμ[ης] Ποσομπόυς εἰς πά-  
γου. δίδομ]εν καὶ εἰσαγ[γέ]λλομεν τῷ ἰδίῳ  
ἡμῶν κιν]δύνῳ εἰς σιτολογεῖαν τῆς ἡμετέρας  
κώ]μης τοῦ ἰδιωτικοῦ κανώνος [γ]ενήμα-  
10 τος] τῆς αδ' νέας ἰνδικτιώνος τοὺς ὑπο-  
γεγρ]αμμένους ὄντας εὐπόρους καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖ-  
ου]ς πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν, οὓς καὶ ἐγγυώμεθα  
ἐκου]σίᾳ γνώμῃ ἐκτελοῦντας τὴν χρεῖαν  
ἀμέ]μπτως. (vac.) εἰ[σι]ν δέ. Ἀδρήλιοι  
15 Κεφαλᾶ Ψεναμούν[ι]ος  
Ἡρακλείδης Ψεναμούνιος  
Δι[ον]ύσιος Παιεῖατος  
. . . ]ης Παιεῖατος  
πά]ντας ὄντας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης παρόντας  
20 καὶ εὐδοκοῦντας.  
(m. 2?) Ἀδρήλιοι Παῦλος καὶ Καμῆς καὶ Ὠρος  
ἐπιδεδώκαμεν. Ἀδρήλιος Παπνοῦτις  
Πανοσνέως ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γρ. . . . .

Back. (m. 3?) Ποσομπόυς

1 ὑπατείας; l. Κωνσταντίου 2 Ἀγούστῳ: A corr. from ν 3 l. Ἡρακλείῳ Ἡρακλείου; ὁξυρυγ<sup>χ</sup>  
4–5 l. Παύλου, Ὠρου, Καμῆτος 4 l. τεσσαλαρίου 5 κωμαρχῶ 8 l. σιτολογεῖαν 9 ἰδιωτικοῦ;  
l. κανόνος 12 l. ἐγγυώμεθα 15 l. Κεφαλᾶς



'In the consulship of our masters Constantius Augustus for the 3rd time and Constans Augustus for the 2nd time. To Claudius Heraclius son of Heraclius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Paulus son of Pathatres, tesserarius, and Horus son of Horus and Comes son of Horion, comarchs, all of them from the village of Posompöys of the 5th pagus. We present and report at our own risk for the office of sitologus of our village for the private impost from the crop of the 1st new indiction the persons whose names follow, being of adequate means and suitable for the service, whom by voluntary choice we guarantee to carry out the service blamelessly. They are:

Cephalas son of Psenamunis,  
 Heracleides son of Psenamunis,  
 Dionysius son of Pacias,  
 ... es son of Paeias,

who are all from the same village and are present and consenting.'

'We, the Aurelii Paulus, Comes and Horus, submitted (this report). I, Aurelius Papnutis son of Panosneus, wrote on their behalf, because they do not know letters.'

Back: 'Posompöys'.

1-2 See R. Bagnall, etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 218-219.

3 For this strategus see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 105. The date there should be 1 (not 5) March 342. The name of his father was unknown. He may be the same person who was *curator civitatis* in 346 or 347 under the name of Flavius Heraclius, see LIV p. 229.

4 τεσσαλαρίου (= τεσσεραρίου). See LI 3621 5-6 n.

6 τῶν πάλων {τῶν} ἀπὸ κώμ[η]ς. Cf. PSI X 1106. 7-8, 1107. 7-8.

9 τοῦ ἰδιωτικοῦ κανόνος (= κανόνος), 'imposts on private land', according to XVII 2124 10 n. If that line of thought is in general correct, the meaning may be broader than the rather unexpected appointment of officials to collect taxes on *ιδιωτική* as opposed e.g. to *βασιλική γῆ*. In the Fayum all land apart from direct imperial holdings seems to have passed into private hands by 297, see P. Clair. Isid. p. 39. Assuming a parallel development in the Oxyrhynchite nome, the *ιδιωτικὸς κανὼν* could stand in contrast with revenue from the *patrimonium*, a contrast which is attested for *κανὼν tout court* in P. Lugd. Bat. XI 2. 12 and 15. There is, however, little evidence to judge by. See P. Vindob. Worp. 8. 24-5 n., P. Charite p. 14.

10 νέα ἰνδικτίωνος. At this date the point of νέα should be that a new indictional cycle was beginning, cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 30-35; LI 3621 was also written near the beginning of an indiction. It should be noted that the clear implication here and in other texts that sitologi were responsible for the crops of a single year or indiction does not conflict with P. Berl. Leihg. II 45. 6, which the editor believed to demonstrate a three year term of office, see L. Koenen's correction to the text in *ZPE* 31 (1978) 76.

12-14 Cf. XII 1426 14-16 ὃν καὶ ἐγγνώμεθα ἐκουσία γνώμη ἐκτελοῦντα τὴν χρεῖαν εἰς τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ μεμψῆναι.

23 The standard wording is *ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γράμματα μὴ εἰδόντων*, but after *γρ-* the undamaged writing is too rapid to read. At least part of the difficulty is due to the sort of deliberate carelessness technically known as 'Verschleifung', see W. *Grdz.* p. XLII, but abbreviation may also be involved.

J. C. SHELTON

#### 4345. NOMINATION OF A COLLECTOR OF ANABOLICUM

A242/9(a)

9.5 × 9 cm

343

An official whose title has been lost informs another of the appointment of a man to serve as *ἀπαιτητής* *ἱεροῦ ἀναβολικοῦ* for the indiction which ran from 26 April 343

to 25 April 344. The appointment seems to have been in some manner pre-arranged with the *praeses Augustamnicae* Flavius Olympius, whose name appears here for the fourth time, but the circumstances alluded to in 10-13 are obscure. For the known processes of nomination in this period see B. Palme, *Das Amt des ἀπαιτητής* 118-119.

Other nominations of *ἀπαιτηταί* are XVII 2124 (316), XIX 2232 (316), P. Thead. 50=P. Sakaon 51 (324), P. Amh. II 139=W. *Chr.* 406 (350), and P. Lugd. Bat. XIII 10 (IV). For the *ἀναβολικόν* see XLVIII 3408 11 n. An *ἀπαιτητής* of the charge is also mentioned in VIII 1135 (III), cf. Palme, *op. cit.* 201 No. 252, 244 n. 131.

On the back, written across the fibres, are the letters ] . loc.

c. 12 letters ] . . . [ . ] . . [ c. 10 letters  
 λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως.  
 δίδωμι καὶ εἰσαγγέλλω εἰς ἀπέτησιν  
 τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀναβολικοῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας  
 5 . . . . . ἱας τῆς εὐτυχοῦς β' νέ[α  
 ἰνδικτίωνος τὸν ἐξῆ[ς ὑπογεγραμ-  
 μένα ὄντα τῆς αὐτῆς δ[ c. 9 letters  
 καὶ δυνάμενον πᾶσαν διο[ c. 6 ποι-  
 ἦσασθαι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀ[ναβολικοῦ  
 10 καθὼς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τῆ[ν ἐξου-  
 σίαν τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡμῶ[ν  
 ἡγεμόνος τῆς Ἀγουσταμνικῆ[ς  
 Φλαοῦτου Ὁλυμπίου. ἔστι δέ.  
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος Ψεναμο[ύ]ρι[ος  
 15 c. 10 letters ]ς.η[. . .] . . . [

2 λαμς, λαμς

3 1. ἀπαιτησιν

6-7 1. ὑπογεγραμμένον

12 1. Ἀγουσταμνικῆς

'... (of the) glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. I present and report for the office of collector of the sacred anabolicum of our ... for the fortunate second new indiction the man whose name is written directly below, being of the same ... and capable of carrying out the complete ... of the same sacred anabolicum just as he reported to the authority of our *praeses* of Augustamnica, Flavius Olympius, *uir perfectissimus*: namely, Aurelius Ammonius son of Psenamunis ...'

5 . . . . . ἱας. This word recurs in still more mutilated form at the end of line 7. Nomination of village officials often specified that the persons to be appointed were ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης (XII 1425 11-12, XVII 2124 17, 4344 19, PSI X 1106. 15=1107. 17, XII 1231. 15, P. Thead. 50=P. Sakaon 51. 27, BGU XIII 2252. 11-12). The metropolitan equivalent was ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς (VIII 1116=W. *Chr.*

403. 20, XXXIV 2715 19, PSI X 1108. 17, all nominations submitted by the systates to the logistes); this suggests τῆς αὐτῆς πολιτίας as a conceivable variant, but the only word which seems to fit both here and in line 7 is δεκανία. Δεκανοί are known to have been involved in collecting taxes and requisitions, cf. XIV 1626, XVII 2155 22 ff., XXXVIII 2859, P. Ryl. II 196. 6–9 n., and further the late usage of δεκανία apparently as a tax district, e.g. P. Michael. 45. 19, 48. 19. But despite the existence of numbered δεκανία at Thebes (O. Tait 1923, O. Thebes 178) and Tholthis (XII 1512) no other text suggests that Oxyrhynchus itself was ever administratively so divided, and as a reading δεκαρίας is too uncertain to print without corroboration.

5–6 β' νέ[ac] ἰνδικτίωνος. Cf. 4344 10 n.

8 Presumably διο[ίκε]ιν or διο[ίδο]ν, of which the former fits the traces better.

10 Barring a scribal error, the subject of ἀνήγεικεν must be the liturgical appointee himself. Αναφέρω can of course be used of the physical transport of goods, and a promise that the liturgist would perform some duty after delivery of the anabolicum to the praesidial office would make sense, but καθὼς ἀνήγεικεν surely indicates rather that the liturgy was to be carried out in accord with a previous submission of some sort by the appointee.

12 Ἄγουσταμυκῆς (l. Ἀγγ-). Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 228.

13 Flavius Olympius is attested as governor of Augustamnica on 14 March 343 by XLVIII 3389 and on 6 April 343 by P. Sakaon 48=SB VI 9622 (which is the only reference in A. H. M. Jones etc., *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* I 646), and at an unknown date by SB XVI 12814=Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia iii 825–8. His only known predecessor, Flavius Julius Ausonius, is last known on 5 May 342 (P. Harr. I 65).

J. C. SHELTON

#### 4346. SKIPPER'S RECEIPT

48 5B.107/D(2–4)a

16 × 27.5 cm

5 November 380

A receipt for 148½ artabas of barley plus various associated charges, very similar in form to XLVIII 3395 and XLIX 3481, from which otherwise unexplained restorations have been taken. The most recent work on related texts is by A. J. M. Meyer–Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer*; see further P. Nephros 47 with introd. and notes, and for the taxes P. Nephros 27 and 43.

The date of 4346 is of some interest, as it is paralleled by only three other documents, all likewise from the Oxyrhynchite nome, see 10 n. The back is blank.

Ἀυρήλιος Παμοῦθις Ἀπολλωνίου [ c. 7 letters

κυβερνήτης πλοίου Οὐαλερίου Ε. [ c. 7 letters

(vac.) [c. 7 letters?

χαίρειν. μεμέτρημαι καὶ ἐνεβαλό[μην εἰς τὸ

5 προκείμενον πλοῖον ἀπὸ κανό[ρος τῆς

ἐνάτης ἰνδικτίωνος κριθῆς καθαρᾶς [(ἀρτάβας) ἑκατὸν

τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτὼ ἥμις, (γίνονται) κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) ρμη [(ἥμις) μόλαι.

ἔσχον δὲ καὶ τὸ τούτων κούμουλον καὶ τὰ [ναῦλα

καὶ τὰς ἑκατοστὰς καὶ τὸ σακκοφ[ο]ρ[ε]κ[ὸ]ν π[λ]ήρης.

10 (ἔτους) ἰδ' 55 β', Ἄθῶν θ'.

7 1. τεσσαράκοντα; /κριθ'

10 4

'Aurelius Pamuthis son of Apollonius ... skipper of a boat belonging to Valerius ... (to) ..., greetings. I have had measured out and laden into the aforesaid boat, out of the taxes of the ninth indiction, one hundred and forty-eight and a half artabas of clean barley, total barley 148½ artabas only, and I have also received the *cumulus* on these, the shipping fees, the percentage charges, and the portage, in full. Year 14, 6, 2, Hathyr 9th.'

1 There is room after Ἀπολλωνίου for μη(τρός) and a short name or for a papponymic or for Pamuthis's *origo*; a further possibility may be [ναυκληρο]κυβερνήτης. If that term means that the captain was also the owner of the boat, as is sometimes maintained, e.g. L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship* 316 and n. 70, P. Harris I 94 introd., J. Vélissaropoulos, *Les naulères grecs* 54 n. 237, 81, then it cannot have stood here. I have found no example of a ναυκληροκυβερνήτης elsewhere who clearly skippered another man's boat, but the term is rare, and there is nothing in the word ναύκληρος itself, charterer as well as owner, which would *a priori* make the situation unlikely. For the distinction between the ναύκληρος, κυβερνήτης, and κύριος of a ship cf. Meyer–Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer* 7–11, J. Rougé, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime* 229 ff.

2–3 If the normal pattern of nomenclature was used then the ship owner was named Valerius E ... and the dative object of χαίρειν (4) followed. In the papyrus there is a vacant space sufficient for one line after line 2; in arranging the text I have assumed that all or part of the addressee's name was once written there, but so deeply indented that it has now been lost. Less probably a short name may have fitted wholly into line 2 and our line 3 may have been blank.

6 ἐνάτης ἰνδικτίωνος. The ninth is the current indiction; the taxes are being paid on the most recently harvested crop.

8–9 The extra charges, with the exception of ἑκατοσταί, occur in the same order in XLVIII 3395 12–13, cf. notes there and Meyer–Termeer, *Die Haftung* 13–14 and 17–19, P. Nephros 47 introd.

10 The regnal years are those of Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius I. Similar dates are found in VII 1041 16, PSI X 1108. 12, and SB IV 7445. 9. For the puzzle of the computation in Egypt of the regnal years of Gratian and Theodosius see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 77 n. 1, referring to P. J. Sijpesteijn, K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 28 (1978) 239–43.

J. C. SHELTON

#### 4347. RECEIPT FOR BARLEY

44 5B.63/(47)a

16 × 26.5 cm

10 October 355

The written area of this item has been smeared all over, possibly with a clerk's sponge, cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* 8, 18 (=ed. 2 6, 16), and especially 91 No. 50, where the sooty effect in the small patches is very similar to the whole of the writing here. The sponging was probably done at the time when the back was used for the tax schedule published below as 4348, which must postdate the receipt.

The contents have not yet been fully read, but there is some interest in the counter-signature, which is made by an official with the new title of ἐπιμελητής Λιβύης. This may be connected with the exactions recorded in SB X 10568, which is a receipt issued by the χρυσώνης of the province of the Thebaid to a receiver (ὑποδέκτης) for a money payment of two hundred and forty *solidi*, plus charges, in respect of the *annonae* of Libya (ὑπὲρ λόγου ἀννωνῶν Λιβύης=Λιβύης, 6). The date of that receipt, to judge from the known careers of the χρυσώνης and the ὑποδέκτης, must fall in the last thirty years of

the fourth century; the editor prefers to assign the seventh indiction mentioned to 393/4 rather than to 378/9, and argues for a connection with the military activities of the emperor Theodosius, see E. Wipszycka, *Eos* 56/2 (1966) 350–360. If indeed the two hundred and fifty artabas of barley here acknowledged as having been embarked on board ship were part of the *annonae Libyae*, then it was a more long standing institution than hitherto envisaged. Some transfers of grain to Libya were established already by Constantine, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii 898–9.

ἐνεβάλετο εἰς τὰ παρασταθέντα πλοῖα κριθῆς  
 . . . . ς . με . νετ . Λιβύης οὐσίας  
 δεσποτικῆς διὰ Διδύμου βοηθοῦ ὑπὲρ  
 γενήματος" ἰδ' ἰνδικ(τίωνος)" ἀρτάβας διακο-  
 5 σίας πεντήκοντα, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) εν μόνας.  
 (ἔτους) λβ' Φαῶφι ιβ'. (vac.)  
 Ἀπολλοθέων ἐπιμελητῆς Λιβύης εσσημ(είωμαι)  
 κριθῆς ἀρτάβας διακοσίας πεντήκοντα.  
 4 "ἰδ' ἰνδικ" 5 /- εν; 1. μόνας 6 L 7 εσσημ?

'... loaded on board the ships provided two hundred and fifty artabas of barley ... Libya imperial estate through Didymus, assistant, in respect of the crop of the 14th indiction, total art. 250 only. Year 32, Phaophi 12.'

'I, Apolltheon, overseer of Libya, have countersigned for two hundred and fifty artabas of barley.'

1 ἐνεβάλετο. The slight indentation of the first line may be significant, see 2–3 n. εἰς τὰ παρασταθέντα πλοῖα. Cf. P. Charite 13. 32–3 ἐνεβ[αλό]μην εἰς τὸ παρασταθὲν πλοῖον. This is a receipt from a supercargo (ἐπίπλοος ἀχύρου) delivered in 325 to the landowner Aurelia Charite.

The amount of 250 artabas is small for even one Nile boat, see P. Strassb. 519 introd.; the implication is that this consignment was part of a much larger quantity destined for Libya, as one would expect.

2–3 Besides the smearing of the ink some horizontal fibres are missing here. What we miss most is a subject for the verb ἐνεβάλετο in line 1, but if κριθῆς is rightly recognized at the end of line 1, then all between that and ἀρτάβας in 4 must describe the barley. In some way Libya must be its destination and it looks as if the imperial estate should be in Libya too. It is not clear why the receipt is anonymous. It may be a model, or the slight indentation of the first line may indicate that it was once one of a series where the name needed to be given only in the first entry.

4 ἰδ' ἰνδικ(τίωνος). This 14th indiction is 355/6, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 35, and the barley crop would be that of the summer just past.

6 For the conversion of year 32 of Constantius, Phaophi 12, to 10 October 355 see Bagnall, Worp, op. cit. 38, 96. For the absence of Julian, not yet appointed, see 4348 introd. para. 2.

7–8 Countersignatures of this kind are often in another hand. Here the hand is not obviously different, but the colour of the smeared area is, tending towards brown rather than black, which suggests that a different ink was used. Even so, it remains uncertain whether the signatory was the same as the writer of the body of the document.

Apolltheon's title of ἐπιμελητῆς Λιβύης is unique, compare the list in N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 28. There is nothing to connect him with known bearers of the name.

R. A. COLES, J. R. REA

## 4348. TAX SCHEDULE

44 5B.63/(47)a

16 × 26.5 cm

Fourth century

A list of tax rates similar to XVI 1905 and XLVIII 3424. The former is called a *μερικμ(ός) ἀρουρ(ών)*, the latter a *προκαίτησις*, presumably a list of charges in addition to those already collected. The charges here, so far as they recur in 3424, are smaller than in that text, so this too is perhaps rather a list of supplements than of basic taxes. Charges for *uestis* and mules, meat, chaff and grain suggest a levy in the interests of the army, as does a new tax to pay for weapons (1).

The text is written across the fibres on the back of an eight line receipt issued by one Ἀπολλοθέων ἐπιμελητῆς Λιβύης (cf. perhaps SB X 10568. 6: 393/4?) for two hundred and fifty artabas of barley, see 4347 above. The receipt is much effaced because of deliberate erasure by sponging, but the date is clear in line 6: (ἔτους) λβ' Φαῶφι ιβ. This is 10 October 355 if it refers to Constantius II, as it would seem it must; the lack of a regnal year for Julian is no objection; he became Caesar later, on November 6. This date is a *terminus a quo* for 4348.

The list ends abruptly after the first word of line 10. Apart from an ink blot in the next line, a depth of 10 centimetres at the foot is blank.

δπλοποιείας	(ἀρούρη) α	(τάλαντα) ζ
κρέως	λί(τρα) α	(τάλαντα) λδ
ἀχύρου	λί(τρα) α	(τάλαντον) α Β
πλοιοποιείας	(ἀρούρη) α	(τάλαντα) νδ
5 βουρδώνων	(ἀρούρη) α	(τάλαντα) κζ
πλατυπηγίων και ὑπὲρ		
ναύλων	(ἀρούρη) α	(τάλαντα) δ
ἐσθήτῶς χλαμυδίων και στιχαρίων και		
παλ(λ)ίων και στιχ(αρίων) λινῶν (ἀρούρη) α		(τάλαντα) γ (ἡμισυ)
10 κιοκρίθου	(vac.)	
	(vac.)	

2–3 λ

9 στιχ

For arms manufacture	per arura	tal. 7
For meat	per lb.	tal. 34
For chaff	per lb.	tal. 1 (dr.) 2,000
For boat building	per arura	tal. 54
For mules	per arura	tal. 27
For flat boats and freight charges	per arura	tal. 4
For <i>uestis</i> , cloaks and tunics and mantles and linen tunics	per arura	tal. 3(?) $\frac{1}{2}$
For wheat and barley ... <sup>1</sup>		

1 *ὀπλοποιείας* (l. *-ποιίας*). The word has not occurred before in the papyri. On the state arms factories see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii 834-6. This tax may have been a commutation of levies of materials for use in the *fabricae*, see Jones, op. cit. i 449-450.

2-3 To judge from XLVIII 3424 12 *λάτραι* is to be expanded in the dative and the following sum is an extra exaction on each pound of meat.

4 *πλοιοποιείας* (l. *-ποιίας*). This is not in LSJ or F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, but has occurred in P. Panop. Beatty 2. 16, 177, 271, cf. 272 *πλοιοποιούς*. This is the first attestation as a tax. The *naucularii* were expected to finance shipbuilding, but this was only one aspect of the *naucularia functio*, see Jones, op. cit. ii 827-830, esp. 829.

5 *βουρδάνων*. For other instances of this tax to obtain army mules see B. Kramer, *APF* 32 (1986) 44.

6 *πλατυπηγίων*. On these barges see LI 3636 1 n. with the article by Rémondon cited there, P. Vindob. Tandem 19. 11 with n., XXXIV 2715 9.

8-9 *ἐσθήτος κτλ.* Cf. XLVIII 3424 2 n. The components *χλαμύδες*, *στιχάρια* and *πάλλια* are standard, see J. Karayannopoulos, *Das Finanzwesen* 112.

*χλαμυδίων*. For the rare diminutive cf. P. Cair. Zen. IV 59609. 4, possibly CPR X 139. 3.

The plain *στιχάρια* must be different from the linen tunics of line 9. Perhaps the word without specification refers to wool.

J. C. SHELTON

#### 4349. SALE OF WHEAT WITH DEFERRED DELIVERY

22 3B.16/F(5)a

23 × 18.5 cm

20 August 504

Top part of a contract in which a certain Victor, described as *παῖς* of a *comes* called Eudaemon, purchases 13½ artabas of wheat for three solidi less six carats. On transactions of this well known type see A. Jördens in P. Heid. V pp. 296-341; to her list of parallels add LXI 4132, together with N. Kruit, *Tyche* 9 (1994) 69-88, esp. p. 69 n. 1, and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 275-7. 4349 is framed as a joint contract by the seller (or borrower of the purchase price) and his guarantor. The wheat is to be delivered in only eight days, possibly from a late second crop, see 14 n.

+ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλ(αούτου) Δεξικράτους τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου), Μεσορή  
κζ, ἀρχ(ῆ) γ [ἰνδικ(τίωνος)].

Ἀυρήλιος Ἰωάννης υἱὸς Θεοδώρου μητρὸς Ἐρεβέκκας μετ' ἐγ[γυητοῦ  
τοῦ καὶ ἀναδεχομένου αὐτὸν διδόντα καὶ πληροῦντα τὸ ἐξῆς  
δηλ[ο]ύμ[ενον].

5 χρέος ἐμοῦ Ἀυρηλίου Φοιβάμμωνος υἱοῦ Δανηλίου μυλόψου, ἀμφό-  
τεροι ἐξῆς ὑπογράφοντες, ὀρμώμενοι ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς λαμπρᾶς  
'Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως, Οὐίκτορι παιδεὶ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου κόμιτος  
Εὐδαίμωνος γεουχοῦντος ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει χαίρειν.  
ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ ὁ προγεγραμμένος Ἰωάννης δεδέχθαι παρὰ σοῦ  
10 ὑπὲρ τιμῆς τοῦ ὑποτεταγμένου κύτου κατὰ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν συν-  
ἀρέσαντα χρυσοῦ νομίσματα τρία παρὰ κεράτια ἕξ ἰδιωτικῶ ζυγῶ,  
γίνεται χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μίσματα) γ π(αρὰ) κερ(άτια) εἰ ἰδιωτ(ικῶ) ζυγ(ῶ)  
ἐπὶ τῷ μὲ - ἦ καὶ μὲ τὸν τούτου ἐγγυητῆν  
ἐνεχόμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ εἰς καταβολὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων - διδόναι σοὶ κύτου  
ἀρτάβας δεκατρεῖς ἡμιου μέτρῳ δικαίῳ ἐν τῇ νεομηνίᾳ τοῦ ἐξῆς μηνὸς  
15 Θῶθ τοῦ εἰσιόντος ἔτους ρπα ρν ἐκ νέω[ν] καρπῶν τρικαιδε[ε]κάτης  
ἐπιμεμήσεως. εἰ δὲ μὴ τὸν [αὐτ]ὸν εἰσιόντος ἀποδώ[σο]μεν - [ἦ] ἐγὼ ὁ  
ὀφειλέτης ἦ καὶ γὰρ ὁ τούτου ἐγγυητής - ὁμολογοῦμεν ἐξ ἄλλη-  
λεγγύης διδώ[να]ι ἐν τῇ προθεσμίᾳ τὰ αὐτὰ τ[οῦ] χρυσοῦ νομίσματα  
τρία παρὰ κερ[άτια] ἕξ το[ῦ] αὐτοῦ μου ἐγγεγραμ[μένον]  
c. 10 letters ] . [

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 2) γρ(αμμάτιον) Ἰωάννου μετ' ἐγγυητοῦ Φοιβάμμω[νος] ...

1 ὑπατίαν: 1. ὑπατίαν; φλς, ἐνδοξς, ἀρξς 2 ἰωάννης υἱος 4 υἱου 5 ὑπογράφοντες  
6 1. παιδί 9 ὑπὲρ, ὑποτεταγμένου 10 ἰδιωτικῶ 11 γι/χρ/ρ γ π/κερ/, ἰδιωτςζυγς, ἐγγυητην  
12 ὑπὲρ (bis) 13 1. δεκατρεῖς 14 1. τρικαιδεκάτης 16-17 1. ἀλληλεγγύης  
18 ἐγγεγραμ[μένον] 19 γρ/

'After the consulship of Flavius Dexicrates, *uir gloriosissimus*, Mesore 27, beginning of the 13th indiction.'

'Aurelius Iohannes son of Theodorus, mother Erebbecca, with as surety, guaranteeing that he will deliver and pay in full the debt stated below, me, Aurelius Phoebammon son of Daniel, ..., both subscribing below, who come from this glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, to Victor, servant of the *comes* Eudaemon, *uir gloriosissimus*, landholder in the same city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings.'

'I, the aforesaid Iohannes, acknowledge that I have now received from you for the price of the wheat stated below three satisfactory gold solidi less six carats by private standard, total sol. 3, less car. 6, by private standard, on condition that I—or I, his surety, who am responsible for him in making delivery for the money—give you thirteen and one half artabas of wheat by fair measure on the first of the next month, Thoth of the coming year 181, 150, out of the new crop of the thirteenth indiction. If neither I, your debtor, nor I, his surety, deliver the wheat, we promise on mutual surety to pay on the appointed date the same three gold solidi less six carats of the same herein written (debt) of mine ...'

Back. (2nd hand) 'Contract of Iohannes with as surety Phoebammon ...'

1 This is the earliest mention in the papyri of this postconsulship and the consul of the year, Flavius Cethegus, does not appear till 29 October. On 27 October XVI 1884 was still dated by the postconsulship of Dexicrates, see R. S. Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 543.

During the year 504 the indiction number changed from 12 to 13. In dating formulas from the Oxyrhynchite nome the change of indiction was normally made on Thoth 1, the Egyptian New Year's day, which still lay eight days in the future when this text was drawn up. Here the scribe is using an indiction year which began earlier, presumably either with the *praedelegatio* of 1 May or the *delegatio* of 1 July. Indicating this is the point of ἀρχ(ῆ). The same idea is more commonly expressed by ἰνδικτίωνος β, ἀρχῆ γ, but this form is also used in e.g. XVI 1994 and P. Köln III 151. For evidence and discussion see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 26–7 and 55 ff.

4 μλοφοῦ. The word is apparently not attested elsewhere and the meaning of the few other compounds in -οφός or -οφος in P. Kretschmer, E. Locker, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* 528 does not suggest a promising sense for a formation with μύλος. Read perhaps μυρεφοῦ, 'perfume maker'.

6 παιδεῖ (l. παιδί). I presume that this is a servant of the *comes*, not son, but it is not clear whether he was a free man or a slave. Comparison with the Apions' οἰκέτης Menas springs to mind; the persons in that position were probably slaves, see the long discussion by I. Fikhman in *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Flor. VII) 71–2. But even closer to the present situation is that of a *παῖς* representing a *comes* in P. Lond. V 1701. The editor thought he was 'no doubt a domestic slave' (p. 106), and this was accepted by R. Taubenschlag (e.g. *Law* 90 n. 118). Like Victor in 4349 his name is given without Aurelius or Flavius, but that is not expected in this context and is missing from the name of the *comes* here too. More significant is the fact that the *παῖς* in P. Lond. 1701 apparently has a patronymic; that speaks for a free servant. One could perhaps avoid this conclusion by translating Ἀρίστ[ων] Φοιβάμμωνος | παῖς τοῦ μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτου) κόμη(τος) Θεοδώρου (P. Lond. 1701. 8–9) as 'Ariston, former slave of Phoebammon' etc., but that is certainly not the natural meaning of the Greek. Concerning some other supposed cases of slaves with patronymics see J. A. Straus, *ZPE* (1978) 259–260. The wording of 4349 implies that Victor is acting as a principal in the contract, not as the intermediary of Eudacmon the *comes*, but no argument can be derived from this, since other papyri show what appears to be independent economic activity by undoubted slaves, see I. Biezuńska-Malowist, *L'Esclavage* ii 101, 133, 136–7. Whether Victor here is a free servant is of course in the final analysis uncertain, but I see no proof that the other *παῖδες* with like functions mentioned by Taubenschlag were slaves either. Presumably free *παῖδες* in recent Byzantine publications include CPR VIII 2.8, P. Laur. III 109.3, P. Hamb. III 228. 11, 229. 2.

10–11 The subtractions made from money sums in Byzantine Egypt have most recently been discussed in K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia*, esp. pp. 54–8.

14 The chief harvest time for wheat was roughly mid-April to mid-May. If that is meant here, the *νέοι καρποί* were about three months old. It is tempting to avoid this by seeing instead a reference to a second crop; and if the farmer's common motivation in such transactions, 'to finance his crop and ... his own existence until the harvest' (R. S. Bagnall, *GRBS* 18 (1977) 87), was in play, this crop had not yet been harvested. For the agricultural possibility see M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 164.

J. C. SHELTON

## 4350. APPOINTMENT OF TAX COLLECTORS

No inv. no.

32.5 × 31.5 cm

22 July 576

Three *coloni adscripticii*, including the village scribe of Sasu Cato, contract with Flavius Apion II, represented by his servant Menas, to collect taxes for the 10th indiction (1 May 576–30 April 577) and turn these over to the ἔνδοξος οἶκος; comparable texts are I 136=W *Chr.* 383, XVI 1894 and 4351; cf. also VIII 1134. Remarkably, neither wages for the collectors nor emoluments for the land owner are mentioned; as 4351 is also silent on these points, they may have been fixed by custom. The area for which the collectors were to be held responsible is likewise left unstated. It will hardly have been the whole of the vast Apion holdings; Sasu Cato may have been considered obvious. This is the first example in the papyri of *adscripticii* serving as tax collectors. But presumably those persons in 4351 who wish to share in tax collecting at Pacerce are *adscripticii* by definition, since the holding owned by the Apions there was their *origo* (4351 20).

+ βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη  
 μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλαουῖου Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου  
 Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους ια/, ὑπατίας τῆς αὐτῶν  
 γαληνότητος τὸ β' καὶ Φλαουῖου Τιβερίου τοῦ καὶ Νέου  
 (vac.) Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου ἡμῶν Καίσαρος, Ἐπειφ  
 κη' ἰνδικτίωνος θ'.  
 Φλ(αουῖω) Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυεστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων  
 ὀρδιναρίων καὶ πατρικίῳ, γεουχοῦντι  
 5 καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ Νέᾳ Ἰουστίνου πόλει, διὰ Μηρᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ  
 ἑπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ  
 δεσπότη τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχίην, Αὐρήλιου  
 Ἀνοῦπ φροντιστῆς, υἱὸς  
 Ἰερημίου, καὶ Παμούθιος υἱὸς Ἀνοῦπ καὶ Παμούθιος ἕτερος,  
 γραμμ(ατεύς), υἱὸς Πραοῦτος, οἱ πάντες ὀρμώμενοι  
 ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Κάσου Κάτω διαφέροντος τῇ ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείᾳ,  
 ἐναπόγραφοι αὐτῆς γεωργοί, χαίρειν.  
 ὁμολογοῦμεν διὰ τῆς παρουσίας ἡμῶν ἐγγράφου ἀσφαλείας ἐκτὸς δόλου  
 καὶ φόβου καὶ βίας καὶ  
 10 ἀπάτης κα[ὶ] ἀνάγκης ἐτοίμως ἔχειν πάντα τὰ δημόσια τῆς δεκάτης  
 ἐπιμεμήσεως

εἰσπράξει κινδύνῳ ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἐκάστου ἡμῶν ὑποστάσεως καὶ  
καταβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν  
ἐνδοξον οἶκον καὶ μηδὲν τὸ σύνολον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔασαι ἐν λοιπάδι. εἰ δὲ  
ἀπομε<ι>ναι κυμβῆ  
τινα ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δημοσίων δεκάτης ἐπιμεμήσεως ἀνείσπρακτα,  
ὁμολογοῦμεν  
ἐνεχόμενοι ὑπέ[ρ ἀλλ]ήλων ταῦτα διδ[ό]ν[αι] τῇ ὑμ[ῶν] ὑπερφυε[ία] δέχα  
τινὸ[ς] ὑπερθέσε[ω]ς  
15 κινδύνῳ τῶν [ἡμῶν πάντων] ὑπαρχόντων. κ]υρ(ία) ἢ παρ[οῦσα]  
ὁμολογί[α ἀπ]λή γραφ(εῖσα) [καὶ] ἐπερωτηθέντες) [ὡμ]ολ(ογήσαμεν).  
(m. 2) Α]ὐρήλιος Ἄνο[υ]π υἱὸ[ς] Ἡλίας κ[αὶ] Πα]μοῦθις υἱὸ[ς] Ἄνοῦπ [καὶ]  
Π]αμοῦθ[ι]ς υἱὸς Π[ρα]οῦς  
οἱ προκαίγραμμ[ι] (ἐνοί) c]τιχ(εῖ) ὑμῶν [ἢ π]αροῦσα [ὁ]μολογί[α] τῶν  
δ[η]μοσί[ων]  
ὡς πρόκειται. ὁ [αὐ]τὸς Παμοῦθ[ι]ς ἐγραψα χιριὲ ἐμ[ῆ] ὑπὲρ τ[ο]ῦ ἐμοῦ  
δ[η]μό[μα]τος  
καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν [ἄλλ]ων ἀγραμ[μάτ]ων ὄντων[ν]. +  
(vac.)  
\*  
20 (m. 3) ✠ δι' ἐμοῦ Μηνᾶ ἐτελ(ειώθη). ✠

Back, downwards along the fibres:

+ ὁμολογία γεναμ(ένη) π(αρά) τῶν ἀπὸ ἐποικ[ίου] Ζάκου Κάτω. +

1 φλαοῦτου	2 ὑπατίας: 1. ὑπατείας	3 ωδ/	4 ὑπερφέστατου, ὑπατων	5 ἰουστινου,
ἰδω	6 υἱός	7 ἱερημιου, υἱός, γραμμ[ι]ς, υἱός	8 ὑμων, ὑπερφύεα	11 ὑποστάσεως
14 ὑπερ, ὑμων	15 κυρ/, γραφ/, ἐπερ/, ὡμ]ολ/	16 1. Αὐρήλιος, Ἡλίου (or Ἱερημίου, cf. 7),		
Πραοῦτος	17 1. προγεγραμμένοι στοιχεῖ ἡμῶν	18 1. χειρῖ, ονομ[ι]ς	21 γεναμ[ι]ς/, π/	

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Justinus the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 11, in the consulship of their Serenity for the 2nd time, and of Flavius Tiberius also called Novus Constantinus, our most fortunate Caesar, Epeiph 28, indiction 9.'

'To Flavius Apion, the all-honoured and most magnificent former *consul ordinarius* and patrician, landowner here also in the New City of Justinus, through his servant Menas, who asks the formal question and assumes the management and responsibility for his own master, the same all-honoured man, Aurelius Anup, manager, son of Jeremias, Aurelius Pamuthius, son of Anup, and another Aurelius Pamuthius, scribe, son of Praus, all from the farmstead Sasu Cato which belongs to your magnificence, registered cultivators of yours, greetings.'

'By our present written bond we acknowledge that we are, free of deceit, fear, violence, guile or compulsion, prepared to collect all the public dues for the tenth indiction at our own risk and that of the property of each of us, and to pay these to the glorious household and to leave no part of them whatever in arrears; but if some of the said public dues for the tenth indiction should chance to remain uncollected we agree under mutual responsibility for each other to give these to your magnificence without delay at the risk of all our property. The present agreement, written in one copy, is valid and when asked the formal question we so declared. (2nd hand) We, Aurelius Anup son of Elias, Aurelius Pamuthis son of Anup, and Aurelius Pamuthis son of Praus, the above mentioned, are satisfied with the present agreement about public dues as stated. I, the same Pamuthis, wrote with my own hand on behalf of the others, who are illiterate. (3rd hand) Drawn up by me, Menas.'

Back. (4th hand?). 'An agreement from those of the farmstead Sasu Cato.'

1-3 The date is styled as a compound of Justin II's formula 4 plus formula 2 minus the word *ἔτους* for Tiberius II, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 50, 54; apparently only SB XII 10934 and XVI 1896, both of AD 577 and from Oxyrhynchus, are fully parallel. All elements of the date agree.

2 ὑπατίας (1. -τείας) ... τὸ β. Justin's second consulate was taken in 568; the count does not change.

2-3 This appears to be the earliest mention of Tiberius II in the papyri. It does not help determine the starting date of his regnal years, for which problem see B. Kramer, D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 42 (1981) 123-27.

4 On the Apion family see J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 61-75, esp. 65-8 for Flavius Apion II.

5 τῆ Νέα Ἰουστινίου πόλει. The other instances of this name for Oxyrhynchus are P. Flor. I 65 (AD 571, see Bagnall, Worp, *Chronological Systems* 64), I 126 and XVI 1992 (both 572), 1894 (573), P. Berl. Zill. 7 (574), XVI 1896 (577) and VII 1042 (578).

Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου. See LVIII 3935 7 n.

5-6 ἐπερωτώντος ... ἐνοχῆν. See P. Iand III 48. 9 n.

6 φροντιστής. See E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates* 133. Not much is known about them. They were residents in ἐποίκια with some position of authority or seniority.

6-7 υἱὸς Ἱερημίου. The father's name is given as Ἡλίας in line 16.

7 Παμοῦθιος. This is spelled Παμοῦθις in line 16, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 25-6. Παμοῦθιος ἕτερος, γραμμ(ατεύς), signs for his illiterate partners in lines 16-19. He may be identical with the scribe of Sasu Cato in XVI 1917 120.

8 ἐποικίου Ζάκου Κάτω was previously known in the spellings Ζάκου Κάτου (XVI 1917 97 etc.) and Ζάκου Κάτω (2033). There appear to be no new references after those assembled by P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 162.

On the meaning of the word ἐποίκιον see M. Lewuillon-Blume, *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie* iv (=Pap. Brux. 19) 177-185.

ἐναπόγραφοι αὐτῆς γεωργίαι. For an introduction to the extensive bibliography on *coloni adscripticii* see J. M. Carrié, *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* iii 939-948. Add to the references in F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* and S. Daris, *Spoglio Lessicale s.v. ἐναπόγραφος* XXXIV 2724, XXXVI 2779, XLIV 3204, XLIX 3512 and P. Wash. Univ. I 25. The word αὐτῆς refers to ὑπερφύεα.

10 δημόσια. Presumably only the dues in money, cf. P. Cair. Maspero II 67138 introd., G. Rouillard, *L'Administration civile* 76.

δεκάτης ἐπιμεμήσεως. For fiscal purposes the tenth indiction had already begun with the *praedeleatio* of 1 May (hence, presumably, the lack of *ἐν θεῶ* here), though in dating formulas the new indiction would not start till 1 Thoth and line 3 consequently speaks of indiction 9. See Bagnall, Worp, *Chronological Systems* 26-7, 68.

19 I take some illegible traces of ink after this line to be offsets.

20 The notary Menas is not recorded in J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten*. His subscription is unusual for Oxyrhynchus in being written in Greek only, see *ibid.* pp. 13, 19, cf. LVIII 3958 40, where the note is wrong in saying that such subscriptions were 'not otherwise attested'; there

εἰσπράξει κινδύνῳ ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἐκάστου ἡμῶν ὑποστάσεως καὶ  
 καταβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν  
 ἔνδοξον οἶκον καὶ μηδὲν τὸ σύνολον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔασαι ἐν λοιπάδι. εἰ δὲ  
 ἀπομε<ῖ>ναι κυμβῆ  
 τινα ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δημοσίων δεκάτης ἐπιμεμήσεως ἀνείσπρακτα,  
 ὁμολογοῦμεν  
 ἐνεχόμενοι ὑπὲρ[ρ ἀλλ]λήλων ταῦτα διδόν[ν]αι τῇ ὑμ[ῶν ὑ]περφυε[ία] δίχα  
 τινὸς[υ]περθέσε[ω]ς  
 15 κινδύνῳ τῶν [ἡμῶν πάντων] ὑπαρχόντων. κ]υρ(ία) ἢ παρ[οῦσα]  
 ὁμολογί[α ἀπ]λή γραφ(εία) [καὶ] ἐπερωτηθέντες [ὡμ]ολ(ογήσαμεν).  
 (m. 2) Α]ὐρήλιος Ἄνο[ὑπ υἰδ]ς Ἡλίας κ[αὶ Πα]μοῦθις υ[ιδ]ς Ἄνοὑπ [καὶ  
 Π]αμοῦθ[ι]ς υἰδ[ς] Π[ραοῦ]ς  
 οἱ προκαιγραμμ[ι] (ἐνοί) ς]τιχ(εἰ) ὑμῶν [ἡ π]αροῦσα [δ]μολογί[α] τῶν  
 δ[η]μοσί[ων]  
 ὡς πρόκειται. ὁ [αὐ]τὸς Παμοῦθ[ι]ς ἔγραψα χιρὶ ἐμ[ῆ] ὑπὲρ τ[ο]ῦ ἐμοῦ  
 δ[ὲ] μ[α]τος  
 καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν [ἀλλ]λων ἀγραμ[μάτ]ων ὄντων[ν]. +  
 (vac.)  
 20 (m. 3) Ⲡ δι' ἐμοῦ Μηνᾶ ἐτελ(ειώθη). ⲡ

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Πραοῦτος	17 1. προγεγραμμένοι στοιχεῖ ἡμῶν	18 1. χιρὶ, ονομς	21 γεναμς/, π/	

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‘By our present written bond we acknowledge that we are, free of deceit, fear, violence, guile or compulsion, prepared to collect all the public dues for the tenth indiction at our own risk and that of the property of each of us, and to pay these to the glorious household and to leave no part of them whatever in arrears; but if some of the said public dues for the tenth indiction should chance to remain uncollected we agree under mutual responsibility for each other to give these to your magnificence without delay at the risk of all our property. The present agreement, written in one copy, is valid and when asked the formal question we so declared. (2nd hand) We, Aurelius Anup son of Elias, Aurelius Pamuthis son of Anup, and Aurelius Pamuthis son of Praus, the above mentioned, are satisfied with the present agreement about public dues as stated. I, the same Pamuthis, wrote with my own hand on behalf of the others, who are illiterate. (3rd hand) Drawn up by me, Menas.’

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7 Παμοῦθις. This is spelled Παμοῦθις in line 16, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 25–6. Παμοῦθις ἕτερος, γραμμ(ατεύς), signs for his illiterate partners in lines 16–19. He may be identical with the scribe of Sasu Cato in XVI 1917 120.

8 ἐποικίου Ἰάκου Κάτω was previously known in the spellings *Ἰάκου Κάτου* (XVI 1917 97 etc.) and *Ἰάκου Κάτω* (2033). There appear to be no new references after those assembled by P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 162.

On the meaning of the word *ἐποίκιον* see M. Lewuillon-Blume, *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie* iv (=Pap. Brux. 19) 177–185.

ἐναπόγραφοι ἀτῆς γεωργίᾳ. For an introduction to the extensive bibliography on *coloni adscripticii* see J. M. Carrié, *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* iii 939–948. Add to the references in F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* and S. Daris, *Spoglio Lessicale s.v. ἐναπόγραφος* XXXIV 2724, XXXVI 2779, XLIV 3204, XLIX 3512 and P. Wash. Univ. I 25. The word *ἀτῆς* refers to *ὑπερφυεῖς*.

10 δημόσια. Presumably only the dues in money, cf. P. Cair. Maspero II 67138 introd., G. Rouillard, *L’Administration civile* 76.

δεκάτης ἐπιμεμήσεως. For fiscal purposes the tenth indiction had already begun with the *praedelegatio* of 1 May (hence, presumably, the lack of *εὐν θεῶν* here), though in dating formulas the new indiction would not start till 1 Thoth and line 3 consequently speaks of indiction 9. See Bagnall, Worp, *Chronological Systems* 26–7, 68.

19 I take some illegible traces of ink after this line to be offsets.

20 The notary Menas is not recorded in J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten*. His subscription is unusual for Oxyrhynchus in being written in Greek only, see *ibid.* pp. 13, 19, cf. LVIII 3958 40, where the note is wrong in saying that such subscriptions were ‘not otherwise attested’; there

was already one exception from the fifth century, i.e. VIII 1130 31 (AD 484; see Diethart, Worp, op. cit. 85: 16. 5. 1). 4350 is from the sixth century (AD 577), 3958 from the seventh (AD 614).

J. C. SHELTON

4351. AGREEMENT CONCERNING TAX COLLECTION

No inv. no.

26.5 × 11.5 cm

Late sixth century

A group of men from the Apion holding at Pacerce agree with the *φροντιστής* Iohannes that they will share with him the responsibility of collecting from it the money dues of the current eighth indiction and the grain dues of the coming ninth indiction. As in 4350, see introd. there for similar texts, no recompense for the work is stated.

[. . .] . . . [όμο]λ[ο]γ[ο]ύμ[ε]ν  
 δι[ὰ] τῆ[ς] πα[ρο]ύσ[ης] ἐ[γγ]γρ[ά]φου ἡμῶν ἀσφαλείας ἀνευ δόλου καὶ φόβου  
 καὶ βίας καὶ  
 ἀπάτης καὶ ἀνάγκης καὶ πάσης περιγραφῆς ἐνκινδυ(νεύ)ειν μετὰ σοῦ τοῦ  
 προγεγραμμένου Ἰωάννου φροντιστοῦ καὶ ἐξανύσαι τὰ δημόσια τοῦ ἡμῶν  
 5 κτήματος τῆς παρούσης ὀγδόης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν  
 ἔνδοξον οἶκον,  
 οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰσπράξαι καὶ τὸν κύτον τῆς ἐμβολῆς ἡμῶν τῆς σὺν Θεῶ  
 ἐνάτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) καὶ δοῦναι εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἔνδοξον οἶκον καὶ  
 μηδὲν ἑᾶσαι ἐν λοιπάδι  
 εἴτε ἐκ τῶν χρυσικῶν δημοσίων τῆς παρούσης ὀγδόης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) εἴτε  
 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κύτου  
 τῆς ἐμβολῆς τῆς σὺν Θεῶ ἐνάτης ἐπιμεμ(ήσεως) κινδύνω ἡμῶν καὶ σοῦ  
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου,  
 10 εἰ δὲ οἷα ἀπομείνιτο ἐν λοιπάδι εἴτε ἐκ τῶν χρυσικῶν ἢ καὶ ἐκ [τοῦ] κύτου,  
 ὁμολογοῦμεν μετὰ σοῦ ταῦτα οἴκοθεν καὶ ἐξ ἰδίων ἡμῶν δοῦναι εἰς τὸν  
 αὐτὸν ἔνδοξ(ον) οἶκ(ον).  
 ὁμολογῶ δὲ καὶ γὰρ Ἰερημίας υἱὸς Ὡρου ἐνκινδυνεύειν σὺν τοῖς ἀλλ[οι]ς  
 εἰς πάντα  
 τὰ ἐν ταύτῃ ὁμολ(ογία). κυρ(ία) ἢ παρούσα ὁμολ(ογία) ἀπλή  
 γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὁμολ(ογήσαμεν). (m. 2) [Αὐρ]ήλιος  
 Φοιβάμμων υἱὸς Ἰωάννου ὁ προγεγραμμένος στυχί μοι ἢ παρούσα  
 ὁ]μολογία

15 ὡς πρόκειται. ₪ (m. 3) Φοιβάμμων υἱὸς Ἰερημίου ὁ προγεγραμ(μ)ένος  
 στυ[χί] με ἢ παρούσα  
 ὁμολογία ὡς πρόκειται. ₪ (m. 4) Αὐρήλιος Παμένης υἱὸς Ὡρου ὁ  
 προγεγραμμ(ένος) στυχί μοι  
 ἢ παρούσα ὁμολογία ὡς πρόκειται. (m. 5) τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἄλλων ὀνομάτων  
 στοιχεῖ ἡμ[ῶν] ἢ παρούσα  
 ὁμολογία ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). Ἰω[άννη]ς Καρ[. . . .]. [. . . .] ἔ[γραψα] ὑπὲρ  
 [αὐτῶν ἀγ]ραμμ(άτων) ὄντ(ων). (m. 6) Παμμέ[νης]  
 Παμμένου ὁ π[. . . .] c. 25 letters ] . υ . . [

Back, downwards along the fibres:

20 τ]ὸν ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος) Πακέρκη τῶν χρυσικῶν[

3, 12 l. ἐγκινδυνεύειν	4 ἰωαννου	5 ωδ/	7 l. ἐνάτης; ωδ/	8 ωδ/	9 l.
ἐνάτης; ἐπιμεμ, ἰωαννου	11 ἰδίων, ἐνδοξ/οικ/	12 ἰερημιας	13 ὁμολ/κυρ/, ὁμολ/, γραφ/,		
ἐπερ/ωμολ/	14 l. στοιχεῖ	15 l. πρόκειται; ἰερημιου; l. στοιχεῖ	16 l. πρόκειται, στοιχεῖ		
17 l. πρόκειται	18 προκ/, ἀγ]ραμμ(άτων)	20 κτημς			

‘... by our present written bond we agree, without deceit, fear, violence, guile, compulsion or any fraud, to accept the risk together with you, the aforesaid manager Iohannes, and to collect the public dues from our holding for the present eighth indiction and pay these to the glorious household; and in addition to collect the grain for the *embole* for the ninth, with God’s will, indiction, to give this to the same glorious household, and to leave nothing in arrears, neither any part of the public dues in gold for the present eighth indiction nor any part of the grain for the *embole* of the ninth, with God’s will, indiction, at our own risk and at that of yourself, the same Iohannes; but if any such should remain in arrears either of the gold dues or of the grain, we, together with yourself, agree to give these to the same glorious household from our stores and private means. And I too, Jeremias son of Horus, agree to accept the risk together with the others in respect of everything in this agreement. The present agreement, written in one copy, is valid and when asked the former question we so agreed. (2nd hand) I, Aurelius Phoebammon son of Iohannes, the aforementioned, am satisfied with the present agreement, as aforesaid. (3rd hand) I, Phoebammon son of Jeremias, the aforementioned, am satisfied with the present agreement, as aforesaid. (4th hand) I, Aurelius Pamenes son of Horus, the aforementioned, am satisfied with the present agreement, as aforesaid. (5th hand) We, the common body of the other persons, are satisfied with the present agreement, as aforesaid. I, Iohannes son of . . . , wrote on their behalf, as they are illiterate. (6th hand) I, Pammenes son of Pammenes, the aforementioned (?), . . .’



Back. (1st hand) '(Agreement) of those from the holding of Pacerce concerning the dues in gold ...'

2-3 *ἀνευ δόλου ... περιγραφῆς*. A list of documents with similar clauses is given by W. Dahlmann, *Ἡ βία im Recht der Papyri* (diss. Köln 1968) 79-80, n. 1, 'Eine juristische Erklärung oder Spezifikation dieser Klausel is nicht möglich. Sie drückt vielmehr eine rechtliche Unsicherheit aus, um sich gegen jede Möglichkeit, hintergangen zu werden, abzusichern'.

3 *ἐνικνδν(νεύ)εω*. Cf. 12. This verb has not occurred in the papyri before.

*ἐξάνυσαι* here can only mean 'collect in full'. That shade of meaning is not given in *LSJ* or in F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, but cf. *ἐξάνυσαι τῶν δημοσίων* in XXVII 2780 35 and SB VI 9576. 9. In VI 904 8 we find *λειτουργίαν ... ἐξάνυσαι*, 'to perform a public service in full'. BL I 301 recommends the restoration of it in P. Lond. IV 1370. 7-8: *ἄχ[ρις] ἄν [οἰκ]οθεν τοῦτω (l. τοῦτο) [ἐξάν]ύσει καὶ παραδώσει*. Something like [*ἀπολ*]ύσει seems more suitable.

*τὰ δημόσια* here are only the money taxes, as those in grain are handled in line 6.

4-5 *τοῦ ἡμῶν κτήματος*. The contractors call it their *κτήμα*, because it is their *origo*, but of course this holding at Pacerce belonged to the Apion family. The first dated appearance of it as such is of AD 489, see P. Flor. III 325, with BL VI 53.

10 *εἰ δὲ οἷα ἀπομείντο ἐν λοιπάδι*. Cf. 4350 12-13, where what must be the same sense is expressed by *εἰ δὲ ἀπομε(ι)ναι κυβή τινα ... ἀνείπρακτα*. Possibly an optative was intended, cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 283-4, §649, i.e. read perhaps *ἀπομείνοιτο*, but the middle seems strange in itself. Also possible is *εἰ* with the subjunctive, as in the passage just cited, see op. cit. 270, §601, but if *ἀπομείνη* is meant the remaining *το* is hard to assimilate.

17 *τὸ κοινὸν κτλ*. Cf. e.g. XVI 1896 24, 1979 23, 1981 28-9.

19 It would be possible to envisage *ὁ π[ρογεγραμμένος στοιχεῖ μοι ἢ παρ]οῦσα*, with *ὄμολογία* lost in the next line, although one does not expect more subscriptions after 17-18 and *παρ]οῦσα* is not an easy reading. Some ink traces below the line are apparently offsets.

J. C. SHELTON

## INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or Suppl. The article is not indexed.

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Θέμις **[4306**<sup>1</sup> i 5?]  
θεός **4306**<sup>1</sup> i 20, ii 8, [14]  
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Θεσσαλός **[4309**<sup>4</sup> 7?]  
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πᾶς **4309**<sup>3</sup> 16?  
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ταχύπορος **[4309**<sup>2</sup> 5?]  
Τελαμών **4306**<sup>5</sup> ii 7, 10?  
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Τηλέγονος **4308** 10  
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Τυρώ **4306**<sup>3</sup> 19

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ὑπέρ **4309**<sup>3</sup> 9  
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Φιλομήλα **4306**<sup>1</sup> ii 25, [27–28]  
Φιλωνίς **[4306**<sup>2</sup> ii 1?]  
Φοῖνιξ **[4306**<sup>1</sup> i 11]  
Φορωνεύς **4306**<sup>1</sup> i 29–30, [32?]  
Φύλακος **[4306**<sup>5</sup> i 6]  
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φύλοπις **[4309**<sup>6</sup> 14?]  
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Χαλκιάπη **4309**<sup>2</sup> 23?,<sup>10</sup> [4?],<sup>12</sup> [6]  
 Χάριτες **4306**<sup>1</sup> i 14  
 χελιδών **4306**<sup>1</sup> ii 28  
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Χρυσάωρ **4308** 3  
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## III. RULERS AND REGNAL YEARS

## DOMITIAN

Αυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Δομιτιανός Σεβαστός Γερμανικός  
 (year 14) **4334** 3-4

## HADRIAN

Άδριανός Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος (year 12) **4335** 5  
 Αυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τραϊανός Άδριανός Σεβαστός  
 (year 13) **4335** 18-19

## MARCUS AURELIUS

Αύρηλιος Άντωνίνος Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος **4336** 14 (year  
 9), 16-17 (year 8), 28 (year 9), 41-42 (year 10),  
 55 (year 11)

## COMMODUS

Αύρηλιος Κόμμοδος Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος (year 23)  
**4338** 2-3

## CONSTANTIUS

(year 32: no titulature) **4347** 6

GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, AND  
THEODOSIUS I

(year 14, 6, 2: no titulature) **4346** 10

## JUSTIN II

ὁ θειότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης μέγιστος  
 ἐνεργέτης Φλαυίου Ἰουστίνου ὁ αἰώνιος Ἀγούστος  
 καὶ Αυτοκράτωρ **4350** 1-2 (year 11)

## IV. CONSULS

AD 319 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου  
 Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Λικινίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου  
 Καίσαρος τὸ α' **4341** 1-3

AD 342 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου τὸ  
 γ' καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ β' Ἀγούστων **4344** 1-2

AD 504 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου Δεξικράτους τοῦ  
 ἐνδοξοτάτου **4349** 1

AD 576 ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητος τὸ β' (Justin  
 II) καὶ Φλαυίου Τιβερίου τοῦ καὶ Νέου  
 Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου ἡμῶν Καίσαρος  
**4350** 2-3

## V. INDICATIONS AND ERAS

## (a) INDICATIONS

1st indiction **4344** 10 (=AD 342/3 νέα)  
 2nd indiction **4345** 5-6 (=AD 343/4 νέα)  
 8th indiction **4351** 5, 8 (late sixth century)  
 9th indiction **4346** 6 (=AD 380/1) **4350** 3  
 (=AD 575/6) **4351** 7, 9 (late sixth century)

10th indiction **4350** 10, 13 (=AD 576/7)  
 13th indiction **4349** 1, 14-15 (=AD 504/5)  
 14th indiction **4347** 4 (=AD 355/6)

## (b) ERAS

181/150 = AD 504/5 **4349** 14

## VI. MONTHS AND DAYS

## (a) MONTHS

Άθύρ **4346** 10

Μεσορή **4336** 29 **4349** 1

Ἐπειφ **4336** 33 **4341** 9, 22 **4350** 3

Φαμενώθ (**4336** 30) **4342** i 6, 21, ii 21, iii 11  
 Φάωφι **4335** 19 **4347** 6

Θάθ **4336** 34 **4349** 14

## (b) DAYS

νεομηρία **4349** 13

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 19 August 169 **4336** 28-29  
 27 February 170 **4336** 30  
 17 July 170 **4336** 33  
 29 August-27 September 170 **4336** 34  
 24 July 319 **4341** 22

10 October 355 **4347** 6  
 5 November 380 **4346** 10  
 20 August 504 **4349** 1  
 29 August 504 **4349** 13-14  
 22 July 576 **4350** 1-3

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 Άμμώνιος: Aurelius Ammonius **4341** 24  
 Άμμώνιος: Aurelius Ammonius s. of Psenamunis  
**4345** 14  
 Άμμώνιος f. of Antiochus **4334** 21  
 Άμόσις s. of Apollonius **4334** 25  
 Άμόσις s. of Diogenes **4334** 17  
 Άμόσις s. of Harpaeisis, b. of Anetraais and Papontos  
**4334** 29  
 Άνετραίσις s. of Harpaeisis, b. of Amois and Papontos  
**4334** 28  
 Άνθ( ) gd.-f. of Anthestis, f. of Dionysius **4334** 7  
 Άνθέσις s. of Dionysius, gd.-s. of Anth( ) **4334** 7  
 Άνοπ: Aurelius Anup φροντιστής, s. of Jeremias (or  
 Elias, 16) **4350** 6, 16  
 Άνοπ f. of Aurelius Pamuthius **4350** 7, 16

Άνός f. of Harmiysis **4338** 4  
 Άντόχος νεώτερος) f. of Theon alias Ptolemaeus  
**4338** 5  
 Άντόχος s. of Ammo(nius) **4334** 21  
 Άντανίνος see Index III s.v. Marcus Aurelius  
 Άπίων: Flavius Apion ex-consul, patricius **4350** 4  
 Άπολλοθέων ἐπιμελητής Διβύης **4347** 7  
 Άπολλων- f. of Harbekis **4334** 30  
 Άπολλώνιος: Attius alias Apollonius, f. of Attius  
**4335** 2  
 Άπολλώνιος f. of Aurelius Pamuthis skipper **4346** 1  
 Άπολλώνιος f. of Amois **4334** 25  
 Άπολλώνιος f. of Saras **4334** 26  
 Άπολλώνιος s. of Epaphroditus **4335** 6  
 Άπολλώς f. of Nechthenibis **4334** 19  
 Άπολλώς s. of Achilles **4334** 8  
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 Άρπαήσις f. of Amois, Anetraais, and Papontos **4334** 27  
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Ἀραΐειος f. of X tenant farmer **4336** 51  
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 Ἀρεᾶς f. of Paulus **4343** 31  
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 Ἀσυνκρίτιος f. of Ammon **4343** 23, 29  
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 Ἄτρῆς s. of Lotas **4343** 25  
 Ἄτρῆς s. of Philon, gd.-s. of Hermus **4334** 23  
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 Ἀῦρήλιος *see also* Index III s.vv. Marcus Aurelius, Commodus  
 Ἀῦρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος **4341** 24  
 Ἀῦρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος s. of Psenamunis **4345** 14  
 Ἀῦρήλιος Ἰουὸν φροντιστής, s. of Jeremias (or Elias, 16) **4350** 6, 16  
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 Ἀῦρήλιος Ζώϊλος s. of Horus **4341** 5, 23  
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 Ἀῦρήλιος Θώνις **4342** i 22  
 Ἀῦρήλιος Ἰωάννης s. of Theodorus, m. Erebecca **4349** 2, 8, 20  
 Ἀῦρήλιος Καμῆς comarch, s. of Aurelius Horion **4344** 5, 21  
 Ἀῦρήλιος Κεφαλᾶς s. of Psenamunis **4344** 15  
 Ἀῦρήλιος Πααλλῶς **4342** i 22  
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Σάου Κάτω **4350** 8, 21

Σενέπτα **4334** 2

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Σύρων **4338** 3

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δεκανία **4345** 5?, [7?]

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μέγιστος **4350** 1 *see also* Index III s.v. Justin II

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στρατηγός [**4337** 1] [**4341** 4] **4344** 3

ταμείον **4337** 8

τεσσεράριος **4344** 4 (τεσσαλάριος)

τοπογραμματ- **4334** 6

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μυρσίβος **4349** 4? (μυλοφου pap.)

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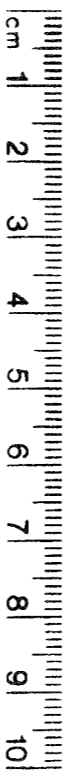
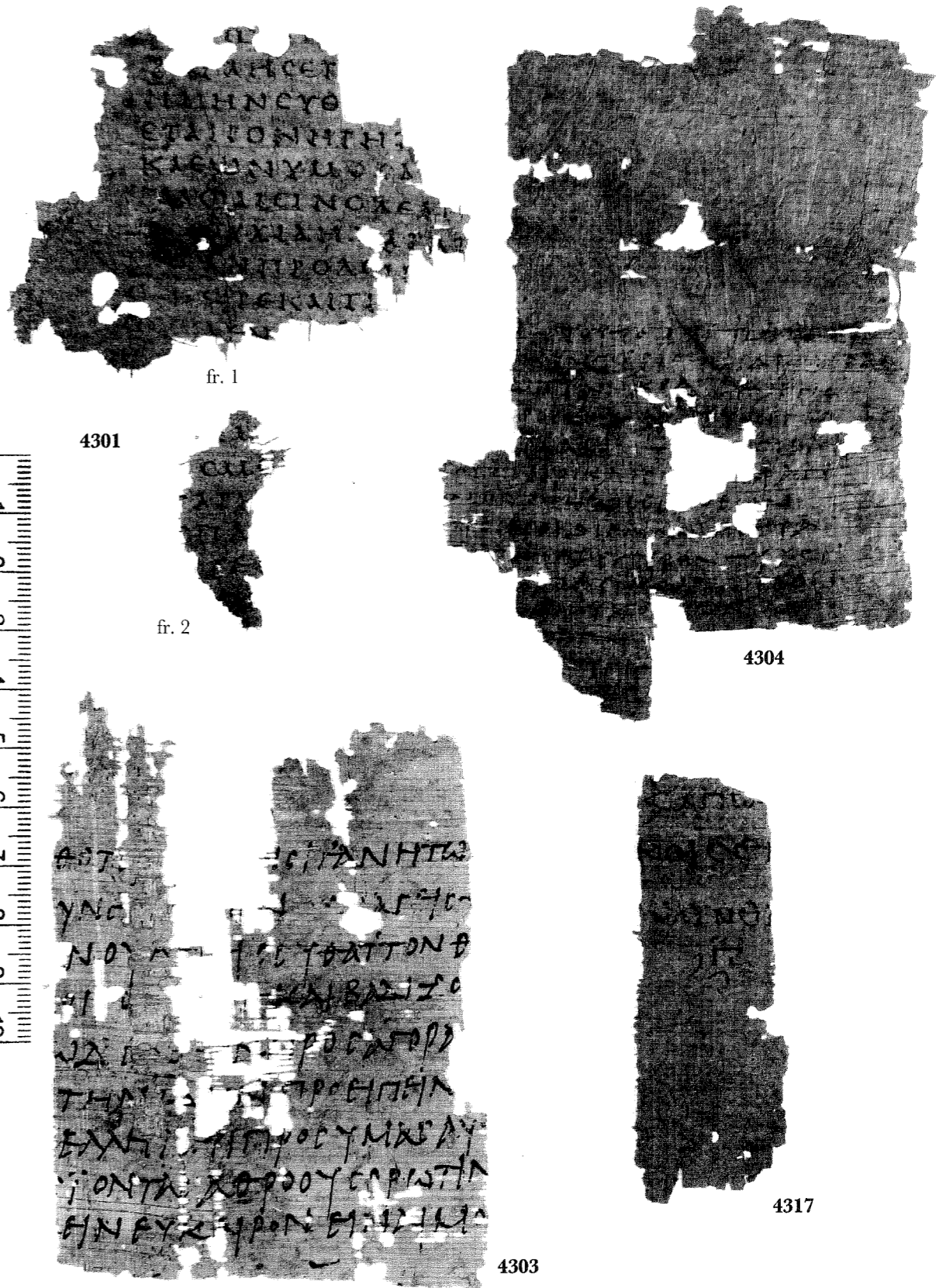
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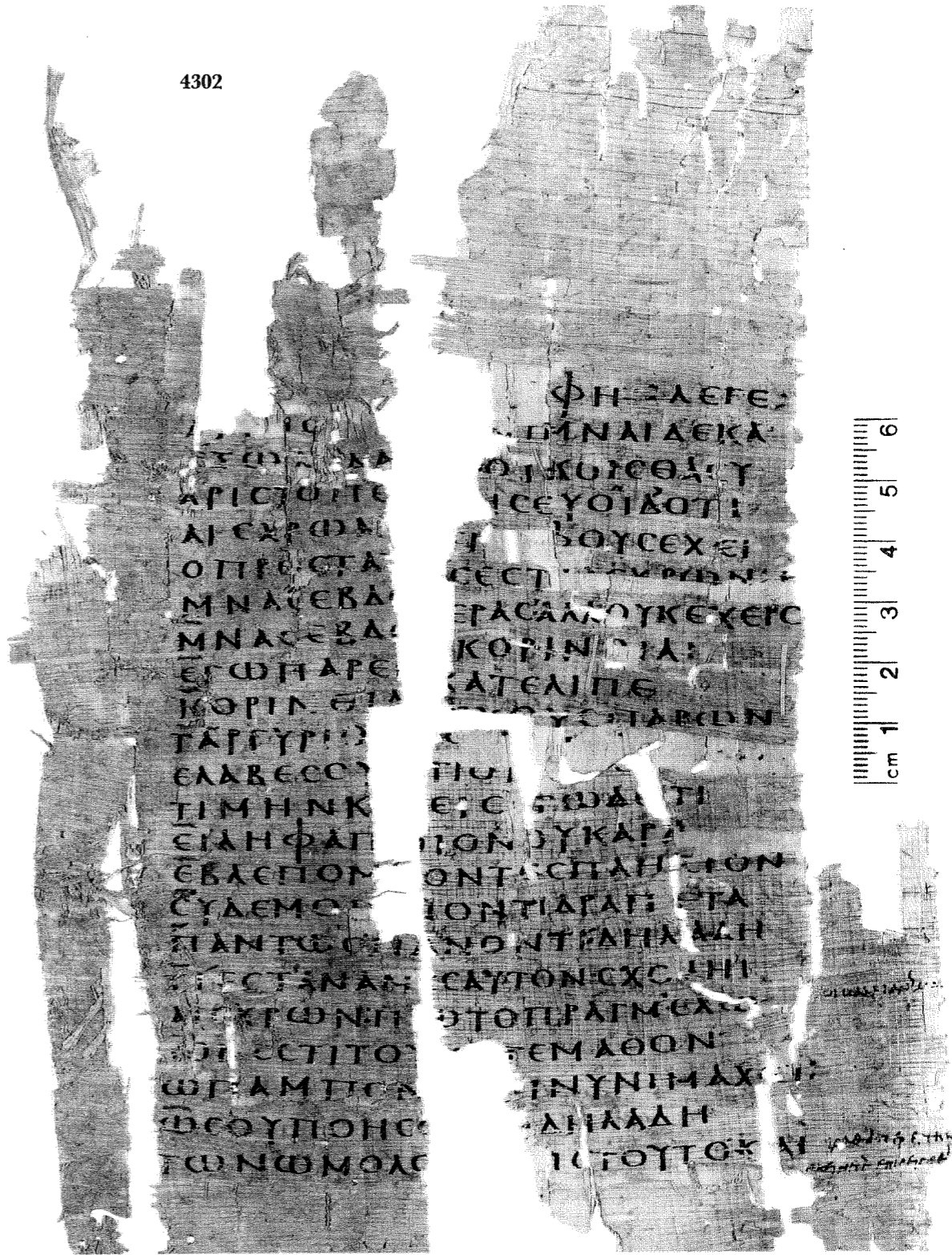
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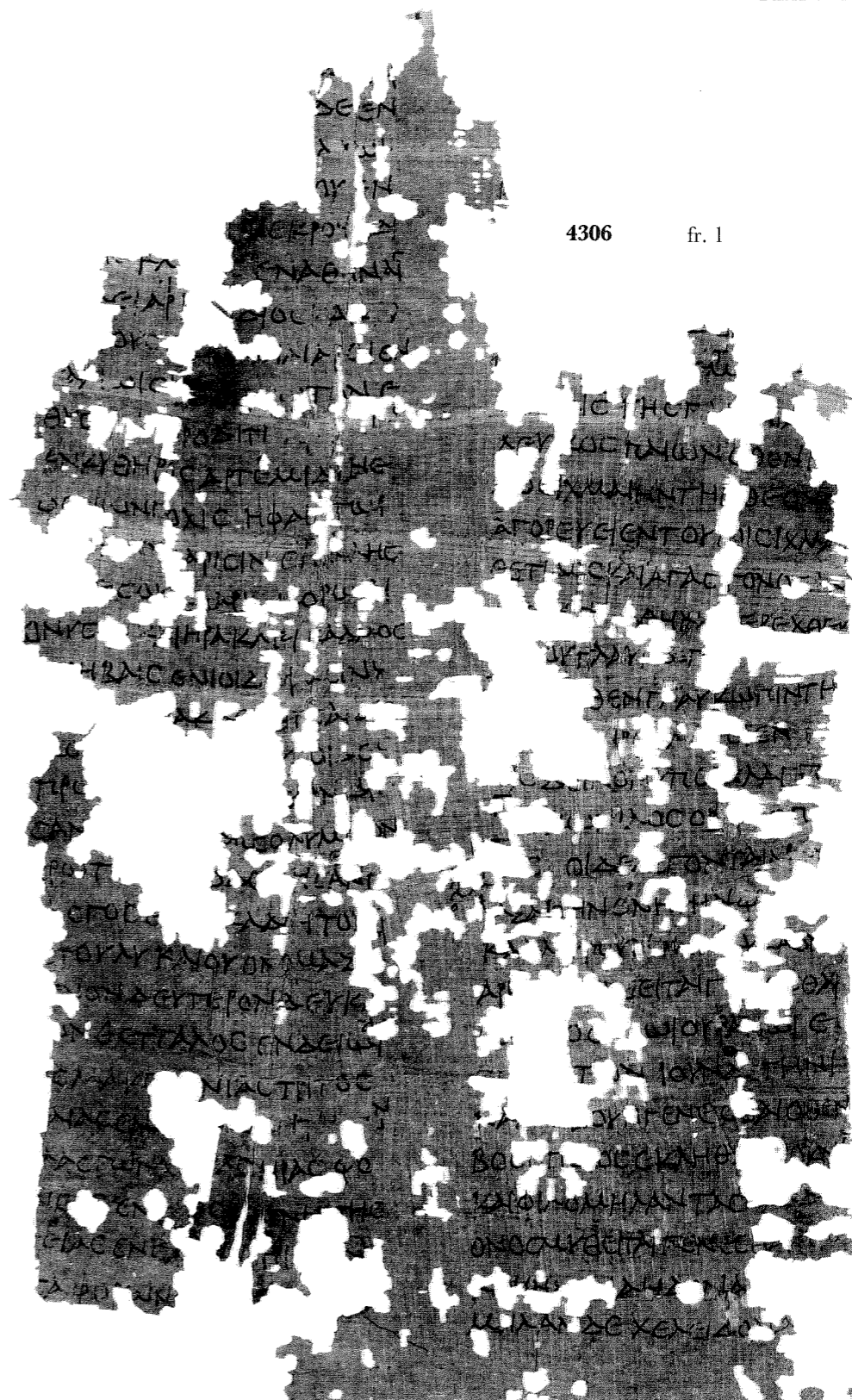
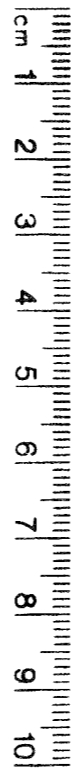
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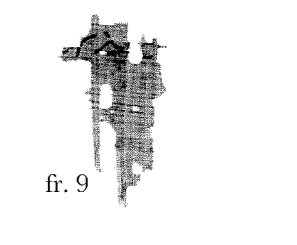
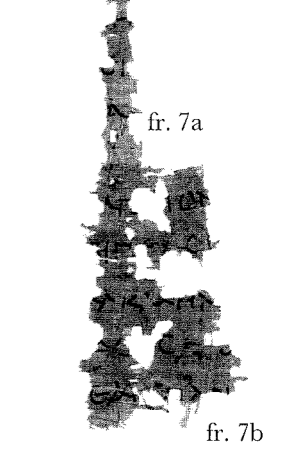
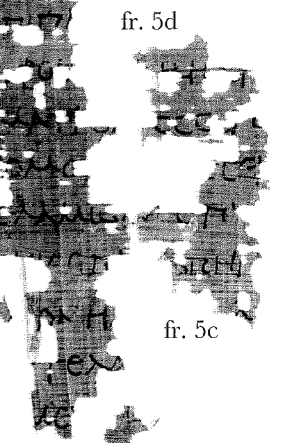
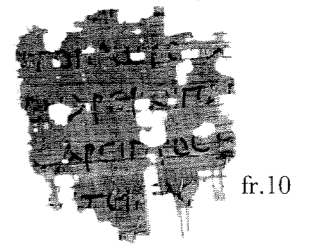
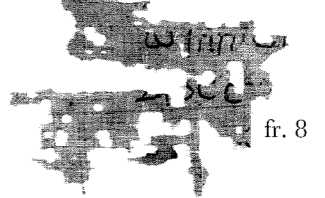
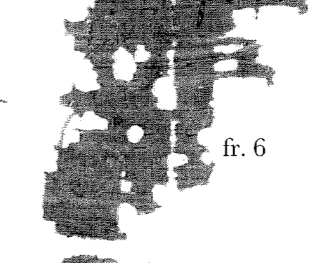
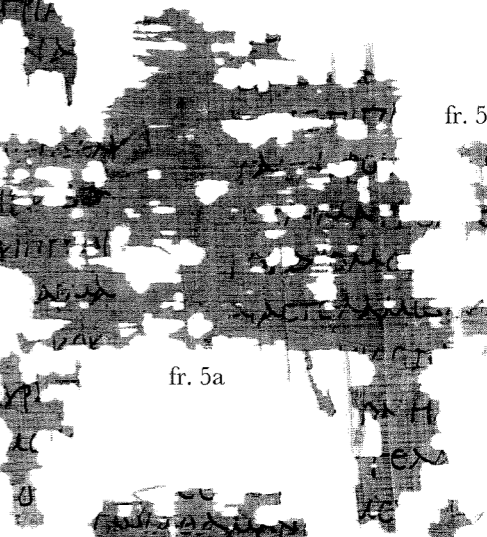
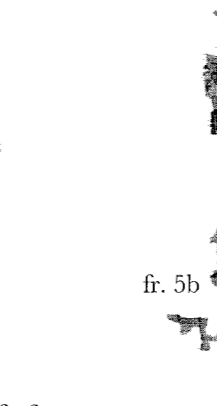
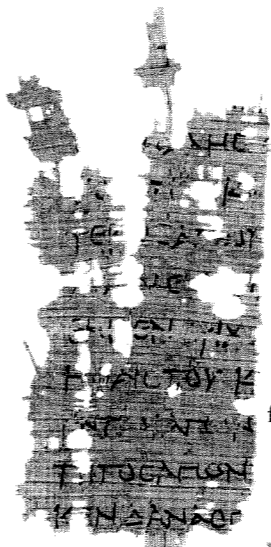
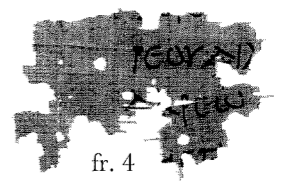
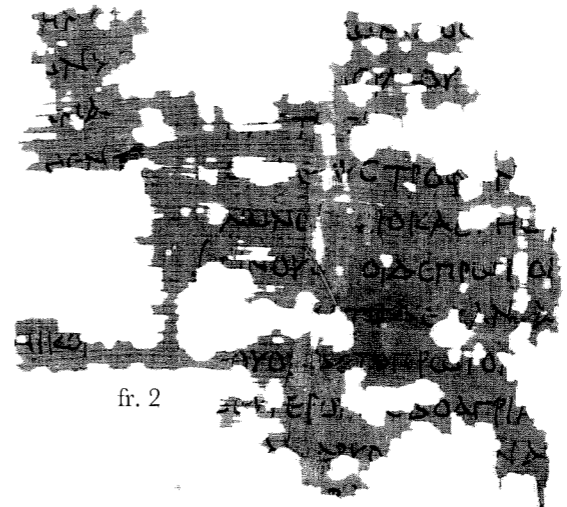
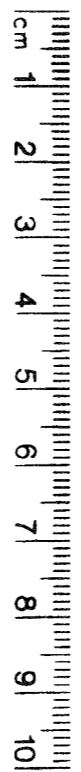
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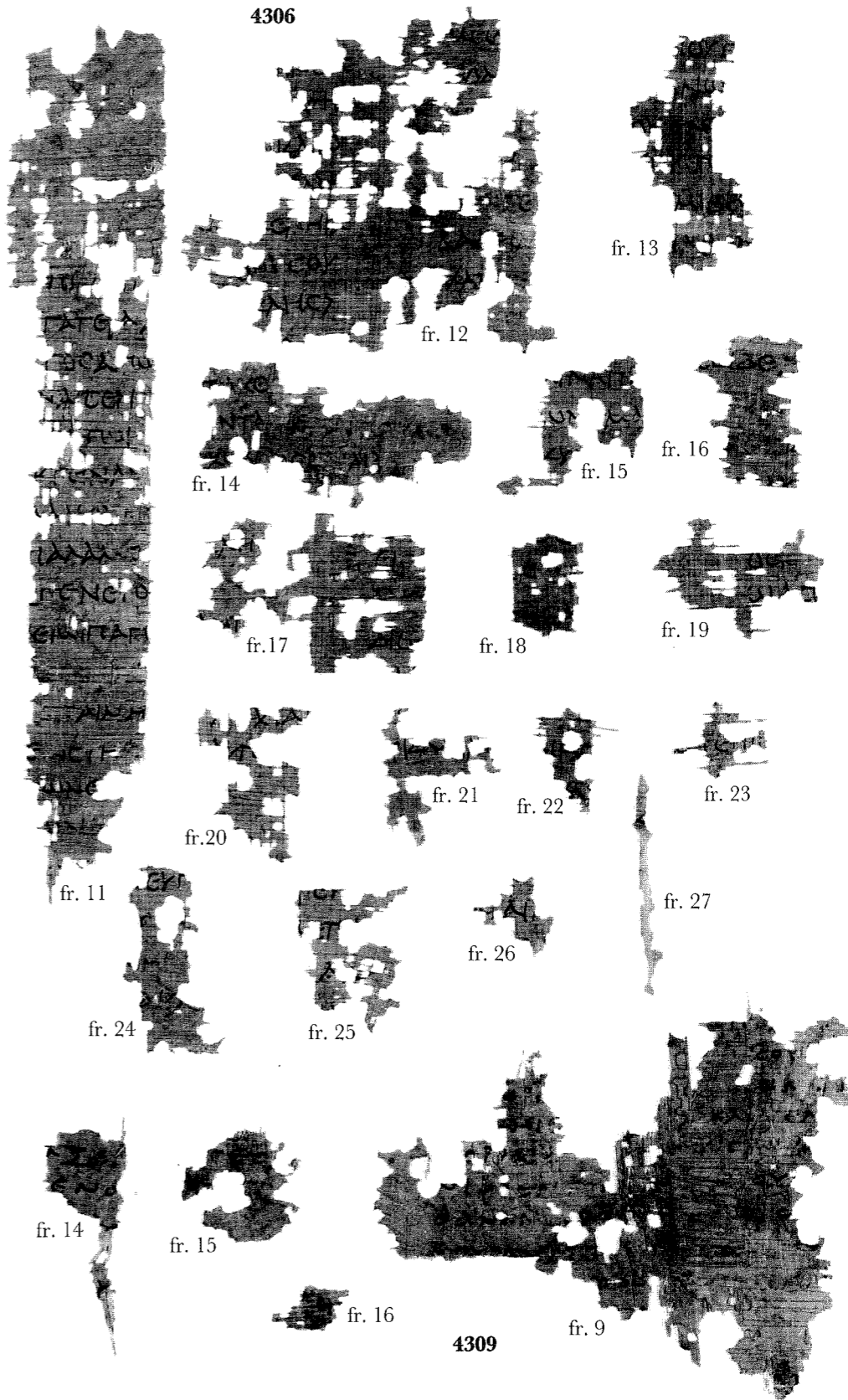
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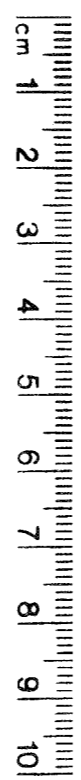
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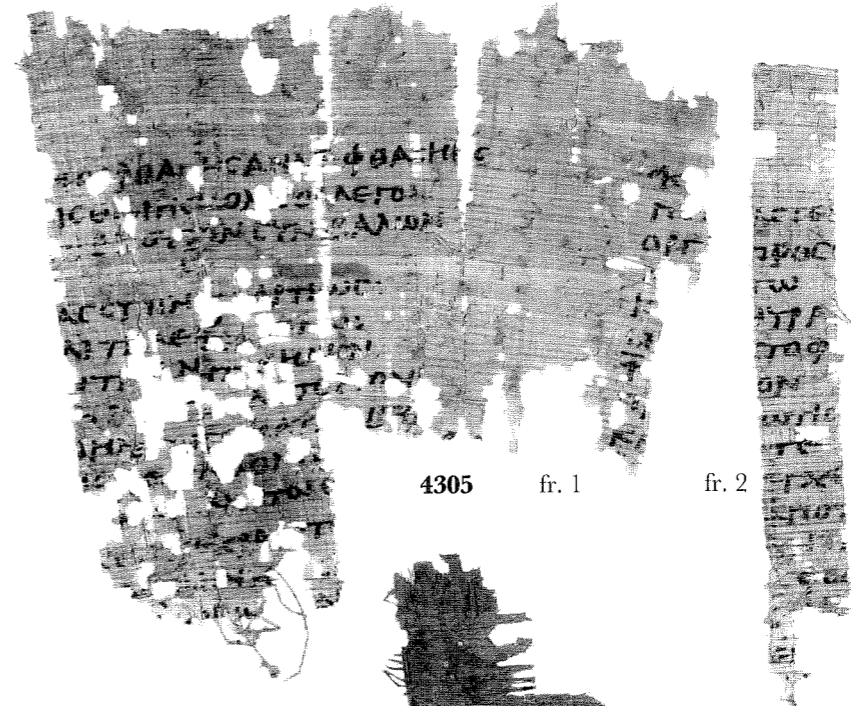
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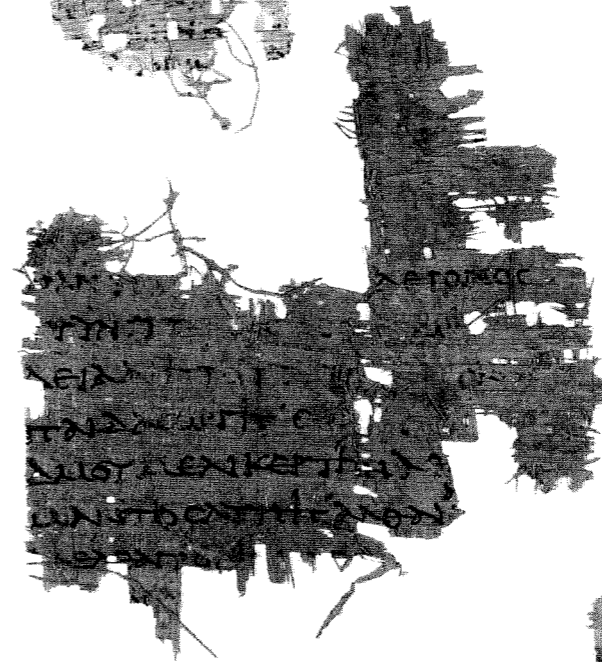




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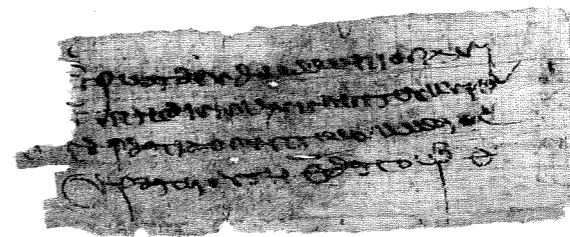
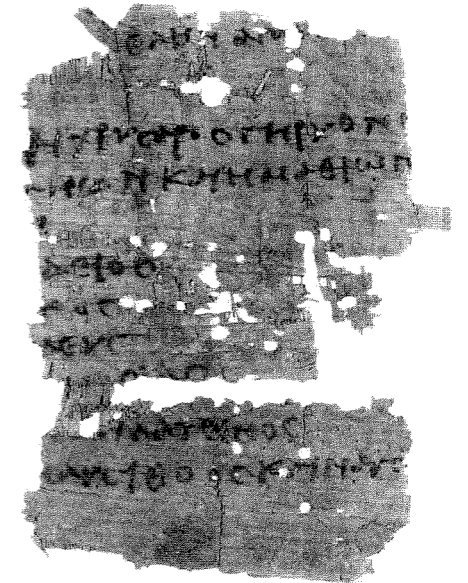
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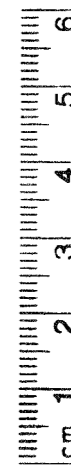


Δοκίμῳ ἑαίῳ ἐκαστὸν ὑφάσθη... ἴσως φαντασίαν  
 οὐκ ἐλαττωμένην ὅτι ἐπιπύονται καὶ πολλὰ  
 ἀπὸ γυναικῶν πολλὰ χάριτι ἀπὸ...  
 τὴν τιμὴν ἀλλοῦ καὶ ἐκαστὸν ὑφάσθη...  
 τὸ δὲ ἀμείνων τὸν ὄρα δὲ ἵσως καὶ...  
 ἀφ' ἑκαστοῦ φέρων ἡλικίαν ἀπὸ τῆς...  
 ἐκαστοῦ φέρων καὶ τὰ ὑφάσθη...  
 ἡ δὲ κλεῖ δὸν καὶ τὸν ἴσως...  
 ἵσως ἠὲ τὴν ἑαίῳ ἐκαστὸν...  
 τριὰς μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἵσως...  
 ἀφ' ἑκαστοῦ φέρων ἡλικίαν ἀπὸ τῆς...  
 τὴν τιμὴν ἀλλοῦ καὶ ἐκαστὸν ὑφάσθη...  
 οὐκ ἐλαττωμένην ὅτι ἐπιπύονται καὶ πολλὰ...  
 τὸ δὲ ἀμείνων τὸν ὄρα δὲ ἵσως καὶ...  
 ἀφ' ἑκαστοῦ φέρων ἡλικίαν ἀπὸ τῆς...  
 ἐκαστοῦ φέρων καὶ τὰ ὑφάσθη...  
 ἡ δὲ κλεῖ δὸν καὶ τὸν ἴσως...  
 ἵσως ἠὲ τὴν ἑαίῳ ἐκαστὸν...  
 τριὰς μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἵσως...  
 ἀφ' ἑκαστοῦ φέρων ἡλικίαν ἀπὸ τῆς...

4335



ἀρχαιοτάτην ἀποστολήν  
 ἡμετέραν ἐπισημαίνουσαν  
 χαρῶν μετὰ ἡμῶν καὶ ἐν ἡμῶν  
 τῶν ὀφειζομένων ἡμετέραν  
 ἐπισημαίνουσαν καὶ ἐπισημαίνουσαν  
 ἡμετέραν καὶ ἐπισημαίνουσαν  
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 ἡμετέραν καὶ ἐπισημαίνουσαν  
 ἡμετέραν καὶ ἐπισημαίνουσαν  
 ἡμετέραν καὶ ἐπισημαίνουσαν



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